

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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JUVENILE COURTS IN GERMANY*

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GERMANY has had juvenile courts since 1908. Hence, almost twenty-five years of experience lie behind us, which permit an evaluation of this institution based on facts. In the course of these years juvenile court work has gone through decisive changes and now there are discussions concerning new reforms, so that there can be no speaking of the end of its development. The outcome of its own experiences and of the exchange of ideas with other countries, which should be promoted by the International Association of Juvenile Court Judges—founded in Brussels in 1930—permit us to hope for still further progress in this field.

I

The present status of juvenile court work in Germany cannot be understood without a study of its historical development. Shortly after its founding, in 1871, the German Empire secured a uniform national code of criminal law in contradistinction to other federal governments. This law regulated the application of penal law to juveniles as did other contemporary criminal codes, in a few para-

* Translated by Erle Fiske Young, Sociology Department, University of Southern California.

graphs: establishing freedom from penal procedures for children under twelve years and for those juveniles from twelve to eighteen years who have acted "lacking discretion" and softening the penalties for young people possessing "insight." A separation of juvenile from adult criminal cases was unknown at that time. Alongside the criminal court treatment of juveniles existed the work for all minors assigned to the guardianship court. Through the civil code, put in force in 1900, these courts likewise were made functionally uniform. An organic connection between the function of the criminal court judge and the guardianship court judge did not exist.

The non-individualized punishment of juveniles, as provided for in the penal code, proved a weapon of little avail in the struggle against the alarming growth of juvenile criminality. In the year 1882 approximately 30,000 juveniles were convicted of major and minor violations of the criminal code;¹ in 1890, there were 40,000; in 1902, 50,000; and in the record-breaking year, 1906, as many as 55,000. The juvenile criminality rate, that is, the number per 100,000 juveniles yearly convicted, rose from 568 in the year 1882 to 663 in the year 1890; 740 in 1902, 764 in 1906; during the period 1882-88 the average yearly rate was 566, and for the period 1893-1905 it was 722. No wonder that the criminologist searched about for more effective means to combat juvenile criminality.

The reform movement, at the head of which the German section of the International Criminological Society (*Internationale Kriminalistische Vereinigung*), founded in 1888, placed itself, dates from approximately 1891. It received powerful impetus through the founding of the first juvenile court in the United States in the year 1899. In 1905 there

¹ The German criminal code distinguishes between *Verbrechen*, *Vergehen*, and *Uebertreten* (crimes, délits, contraventions). The statistics, however, include only *Verbrechen* and *Vergehen*.

appeared in Leipzig the volume by the Austrian writer, I. M. Baernreither, *Child Welfare and Criminal Justice in the United States of America* (*Jugendfuersorge und Strafrecht in der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*). It was a judge of the guardianship court in Berlin, Paul Koehne, who gave definite direction to the development. In 1905 he proposed, guided by American precedents, to refer future criminal cases against juveniles arising in the district courts to a special division and at the same time to make the judge of this division the guardianship judge for punishable juveniles and for their brothers and sisters; and also to include the educational organizations in the judicial proceedings. His proposal had the advantage that it could be put into effect through administrative measures without changes in legislation.

In 1908 the Ministries of Justice of the German States (*Landes justizverwaltung*) issued general orders by means of which juvenile courts, as Koehne conceived them, were introduced. Simultaneously the principle governing the function of juvenile probation was laid down, in that: The public prosecutors were instructed to investigate as early as possible in the preliminary proceedings the circumstances of the life of the accused juvenile and all other conditions which could be of importance in forming an opinion of his personality, of his crime, and for making a decision as to that insight needed to establish culpability; for this reason he was to act in conjunction with the private juvenile welfare associations. Furthermore, the conditional suspension of sentence through the granting of a probationary period had been introduced in the majority of the German states since 1895, so that with the reform of 1908 a foundation was laid upon which salutary educational work, according to the conceptions of the modern juvenile court movement, could be accomplished.

The juvenile court meted out punishments with a probationary period in mind, and the chairman of the court in his capacity as guardianship judge prescribed the necessary educational measures, particularly probation (*Schutzaufsicht*) or trustee-education (*Fuersorgeerziehung*). The juvenile probation officers through their social case histories furnished a basis for the decisions of the court and undertook the administration of probation.

In the tremendously difficult war and post-war period the legal institutions set up in 1908 had to withstand a fiery test. It was not due to a failure of the new institutions that juvenile criminality rose from 54,000 convictions in the year 1913 to 63,000 in 1915, 80,000 in 1916, 95,000 in 1917, and to 99,000 in 1918, and attained high points again in 1920 with 91,000 and also in 1923 with 86,000 convictions.

The Juvenile Court Law of February 16, 1923, which constitutes the foundation of the present-day law, first went into effect only near the end of the catastrophic period, on July 1, 1923. The law of February 16, 1923, which was produced by the resolute, well-nigh enthusiastic will-to-reconstruct of that period has a twofold significance. In the first place, it was a legislative fixation of the reforms introduced through administrative regulations and tested out in the difficult years, consequently a legal establishing of the juvenile court and juvenile probation, and hence a rounding out of the reforms by the introduction of innovations which were attainable only through legislation. Essentially three points were involved: (1) the increase of the age of criminal responsibility to agree with the age for leaving school in the majority of the German districts; (2) the exclusion of the competence of all other courts of first instance, so that the competence of the juvenile court now reached from the slightest trespass to the gravest crime;

and (3) the entrusting of greater freedom of choice to the juvenile courts in the selection of their remedies, which now chooses between punishment and education, but also can correlate these two measures.

This brief survey shows that its historical development has imprinted a distinctive character upon the German juvenile court, and that it has proceeded along the same lines as in a number of countries, for example, England, France, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, while in other lands, for example, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, the development has gone along essentially different paths. In Germany, as in the other first mentioned countries, the educational ideal in dealing with punishable juveniles has come so completely to acceptance that it has been incorporated into the criminal procedure. The criminal judge has adopted educational methods—not the guardianship judge penal methods. There are experts in Germany (for example Professor Klumker in Frankfort-on-the-Main), who see in what has been achieved only a midpoint in the solution of the problem, and would make the guardianship judge the administrator of all the activities of the juvenile court after freeing it from criminal court characteristics.

II

We turn now to the consideration of present-day juvenile court work and treat successively: (1) organization, (2) methods, and (3) procedure.

1. The German juvenile court ordinarily consists of one professional judge and two lay judges (*Schoeffen*); in specified especially serious matters a second professional judge and a third lay judge are added. Decisions, except at the main hearing, fall to the juvenile court judge as sole judge. The German juvenile court is to be characterized thus: A professional jurist exercises in it the dominating influence.

In the person of the professional judge lie powerful legal guarantees against arbitrary decisions. As experience teaches, the danger arises that in an over-anxiety regarding welfare, the legal question will be too lightly dealt with as to whether the suspected deficiencies or detriments to education are fully proved. Because of the great import of the juvenile court decisions, the authoritative collaboration of the jurist is indispensable, according to German legal conceptions, so that attempts to entrust the treatment of punishable juveniles to pedagogues and physicians, with an exclusion of jurists, have to the present never been able to win ground in Germany. On the other hand, it is clear that the traditional legal education is not sufficient for the successful administration of the office of juvenile court judge. This office requires special personal suitability and, in addition, experience and knowledge in the province of psychology, psychopathology, and sociology of juveniles as well as in the fields of education and child welfare. As in other lands, so in Germany also there have been individual judges, who have had these qualifications in a superior measure. In addition to the jurist, Koehne, in Berlin, previously mentioned, there is also to be noticed here the jurist, Karl Allmenroeder, who administered the juvenile court in Frankfort-on-the-Main, from 1908 to 1926, whose methods have attained genuine fame.

Today a greater number of the younger judges of the juvenile courts are at work, who are zealously acquiring a knowledge of child psychology and pedagogy. One German juvenile court judge, Walter Hoffmann in Leipzig, has himself materially contributed to the development of child-psychology by means of a penetrating work on Adolescence (*Die Reifezeit*, 1922). It is not possible to determine how large is the number of juvenile court judges who today have gained through private studies the special

knowledge required for their office. It is obvious that such an accomplishment cannot be expected of every juvenile court judge. For this reason the German Association of Juvenile Courts and Juvenile Probation Departments (*Die Deutsche Vereinigung fuer Jugendgerichte und Jugendgerichtshilfen*), after hearing a group of experts, prepared a memorandum in 1929 in which they proposed for future juvenile court judges a practical and theoretical special training course of at least six months' duration. The difficult financial situation in Germany has frustrated as yet the realization of these plans, although in Berlin in 1929 and 1930 two special courses of one month's duration have been given for juvenile court judges and public prosecutors assigned to juvenile courts (*Jugendstaatsanwaelte*). The vast majority of juvenile court judges today has been introduced to psychological-pedagogical problems, if at all, only through short institutes of a few days. For the juvenile court judges in rural districts and in the smaller cities who settle juvenile cases along with numerous other official matters, this method is for the future, moreover, the only possible form of continuation study; while for the 'metropolitan juvenile court judges the demand for a thorough-going special education always preemptorily puts itself forward anew. Since 1922 women may also become judges in Germany. However, as yet, no woman has made a name for herself as a juvenile court judge.

The lay judges of the juvenile court are nominated by the child welfare department (*Jugendamt*). According to the Austrian juvenile court law, one of the lay judges must be engaged or have been engaged in the teaching profession and the other in child welfare. Such a provision is lacking in the German law. Nomination through the child welfare department guarantees, nevertheless, that the lay judges will have had contact with child welfare work. In the great

cities, the practical experience of the lay judges generally lags far behind that of the specialized judges of the juvenile court.

The physician is employed in the juvenile court not as a colleague but as an expert witness. The law prescribes that in suitable cases a medical examination of the accused shall be made. Child psychiatrists have been found who bring to juvenile court problems a special interest; and in certain places, for example, in Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Bonn, there has developed with signal success a close collaboration between the juvenile court and the child psychiatrist. In the central district of Berlin (*Berlin-Mitte*) for a number of years every punishable juvenile was referred to the juvenile court physician, but to continue this permanently was not practicable. Hence the juvenile court judge must make a selection. According to the proposals of a committee of the German Association of Juvenile Courts and Juvenile Probation Departments, the physician shall be employed not only when the suspicion of a physic anomaly is aroused, but also when a serious criminal act or pronounced antisocial conduct is under consideration.

Also, under the provisions of the juvenile court law, in the organization of the public prosecutor's staff, cases dealing with juveniles shall be concentrated, so far as possible, in the hands of special juvenile court prosecutors.

The organization of juvenile probation work has undergone great changes in Germany since 1908. German juvenile probation is a product of voluntary social work. It was the local welfare organizations, united in many cities into an association for child welfare, which took over the new tasks and devoted themselves to them with tireless zeal. Here the forces, which sprang from the religious and humanitarian desire to help, joined with the desire for so-

cialized activity which developed from the woman's movement. The overtowering figure of the first director of the German Association for Child Welfare (*Zentrale fuer Jugendfuersorge*) in Berlin, Frieda Duensing, gives to this epoch of German juvenile probation its distinctive mark.

However, even in 1912 Wilhelm Polligkeit, at that time director of the Association for Private Welfare (*Zentrale fuer private Fuersorge*) in Frankfort and leader of the Frankfort juvenile probation work, declared:

"The organization, customary to the present time, by which juvenile probation makes use of private associations for child welfare, is not permanent."

Since probation concerned itself with public problems, he asked for a legal organization which should be responsible for it. Voluntary juvenile probation had lasted out the difficult war years. However, the economic catastrophe of the post-war period shattered its effectiveness and at the same time introduced such a tremendous need on the part of masses of juveniles that governmental interference was necessary. The Juvenile Welfare Law of July 9, 1922, in force since April 1, 1924, converted the juvenile welfare departments, already organized by voluntary effort in many cities, into a legally required institution and gave over to it, as its legal responsibility, the administration of juvenile probation. Moreover, the drawing into cooperation of the voluntary societies and the complete giving over of certain specified tasks, such as juvenile probation, to these societies was permitted to the juvenile welfare departments. Since then we have had in Germany the juxtaposition of public and private juvenile probation work. In Berlin and Hamburg, juvenile probation is administered by the public juvenile welfare departments, while in other large cities, such as Munich, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Breslau, it remains even today still in the hands of the personnel of the private organizations.

With the changing of German juvenile welfare work from private to public work new vitality came into juvenile probation work. The socialist movement, above all others, was interested in the development of the juvenile welfare department. A new profession was constituted of professional welfare workers employed in juvenile welfare movements. It secured valuable reinforcements from the German youth movement. These men brought with them out of their own youthful experiences an increased understanding of erring youth and of what it is necessary to do for them; and made the educative forces of the organized companionship-group bear fruit for the youth.

2. The remedial measures which the juvenile court can institute are enumerated in the juvenile court law. The law distinguishes between punishment in the sense of the penal code and "educative measures" although this distinction is not thoroughgoing, since punishments should also have an educative character, and likewise in the educative measures, as for example, in restitution for damages which have been caused, there lies an element of expiation. As punishments are permissible: (a) the money fine, which, however, has an educative value only when it can be paid off in installments by the juvenile himself out of his earnings; and (b) imprisonment with or without a probationary period, which extends from one day's imprisonment up to one-half of the maximum penalty specified for adults and reaches a limit of ten years in prison for murder. The infliction of punishment takes place in special prisons for juveniles (for example, at Kottbus for those from Berlin, Hahnoefersand for Hamburg, Wittlich-on-the-Mosel for the Rhineland, Eisenach, for Thuringia), or in juvenile sections of prisons (as for example, at Neumuenster in Holstein and Bautzen in Saxony). The infliction of punishment upon juveniles in the last decade in Germany,

aside from rare exceptions, has been upon capital offenders and upon those who are becoming habitual offenders. In the fiscal year 1927 there was an average daily population of 58 in all Prussian prisons containing juveniles; among them were five girls. The German juvenile prisons are today chiefly penal institutions for young people of 18 years of age or over with very small groups of juveniles (under 18 years).

The permissible educative measures are fully enumerated in the juvenile court law: (1) admonition; (2) placing under the discipline of a school, or of someone recognized as competent (that is, parents or guardians); (3) the imposition of special obligations; (4) home-placement (*Unterbringung*); (5) probation (*Schutzaufsicht*); and (6) trustee-education (*Fuersorgeerziehung*). The most important educational measures are probation and trustee-education. Both suffer in the present period of distress very much from lack of means, which is to blame for the fact that welfare workers who administer probation are not sufficiently numerous and institutional workers for the most part are not adequately educated.

The law gives to the juvenile court great freedom in making a selection from among the available penal and educative measures. That the correct measures for the particular case will be instituted, is a question of the personality of the juvenile court judge and of good cooperation between the juvenile court, juvenile probation, and physician.

3. The procedure of the juvenile court is governed by the code of criminal procedures which is supplemented through certain provisions of the juvenile court law. However, it is literally true of the procedure that the prescriptions of the law count for little and human beings mean nearly everything. There is involved from the first mo-

ment the achievement of two goals, which can be reached only simultaneously and cooperatively: the study of the personality of the juvenile and the setting up of a contact between the judge and the juvenile of pedagogical character—to use a modern technical expression. Hence, the first meeting with the juvenile in the investigation procedure is of decisive importance. Here the juvenile and the judge stand alone face to face without the austerities of the main hearing; here it is possible from the first, through the mode of treatment and the examination to convince the juvenile at the very outset that the juvenile court is not his enemy, which desires to take him unawares and to strike him down, but that it is the intention of the court to uncover his difficulties and conflicts and to help him to overcome them. Disappointments may come, the forces of life may be stronger than the good intentions of the juvenile and the readiness to help of grownups, yet the personal confidential relationship must not be lost even in the sentence to punishment or in its infliction; perhaps the juvenile, when he has served out his sentence, will return voluntarily to the judge to seek the help which has been offered him. Fortunately, the juvenile court law gives the handle, that the procedure can be brought to a conclusion without a main hearing, when suitable educative remedies can be attained by other means; thus the solemn and ponderous main hearing can be reserved for those cases in which the contested circumstances of the case must be established through hearing of witnesses, or a punishment must be inflicted. The main hearing occurs with the general public excluded, though members of the family and the representatives of the juvenile probation office are admitted. Where there is a detention home, detention in jail under arrest will be employed only in exceptional cases; in smaller places on the other hand, in which the former institutions are lacking, this latter occurs only too frequently.

According to national criminal statistics, 24,000 juveniles on the average in recent years have been convicted for crimes and breaches of the penal code.² However, since the statistics do not include the cases which are concluded without a main hearing, these figures do not give an adequate picture of contemporary juvenile criminality nor do they permit comparison with the figures for the period previous to the juvenile court law.

III

Though we are prevented from looking into the future, yet, in conclusion it is permissible to discuss briefly the questions of reform which agitate present-day professional circles in Germany.

1. The juvenile court judges regard it as a bad situation that they, as penal judges, must surrender their charges at the age of 18 years, though as guardianship judges they have to concern themselves until the completion of 21 years. The judges of the juvenile court of the judicial district of central Berlin (*Berlin-Mitte*) have accomplished this much: In the course of business transactions penal matters concerning minors over 18 years of age would be referred to them for decision; at first, in 1925, only cases coming before the judge alone, and later, in 1929, also cases for the full court (*Schoeffensachen*). This innovation was initiated by many courts and the fundamental underlying ideas had gained currency so quickly that a legislative proposal published in 1929 provides for the inclusion of minors over 18 years under the juvenile court law. Although the criminality of this age group, by virtue of their over-consciousness of their strength, is far more dangerous than that of juveniles, and often reveals itself at this age in confirmed criminalism, nevertheless the

² See footnote 1 previously.

struggle against their delinquency promises more success through a coordination of judicial and welfare methods than through a purely judicial procedure.

2. The inclusion of those 18-21 years of age in the work of the juvenile court makes the question of the introduction of the indeterminant sentence a burning one. Following the precedents of the Austrian juvenile court law, the above mentioned legislative proposal incorporated it in a later draft in 1930. Opinion in expert circles is divided. The opponents to its introduction believe that the indeterminant sentence places requirements upon the psychological-pedagogical education of officials in penal institutions which at present are met only in exceptional cases.

3. Also the lower age limit for the application of juvenile court law is now vigorously debated. A strong movement has developed to withdraw the 14-16 year age-group from the juvenile court and to establish a purely guardianship procedure, on the grounds that they are in all respects still merely children. The opposed view holds it hazardous to remove a portion of those who have graduated from school from under the juvenile court law and believe that the law should be so flexibly organized, that it would be possible for the juvenile court judge to deal with this group also, according to the stage of their individual development.

The development of the juvenile court work of a nation is in part conditioned by the particular historical situation of that nation; at the same time, it is a wave in the broad stream of an international movement, and thus it wins, as a part of a universal legal development, an interest which extends beyond its national significance.

THE CONCEPT OF ORGANIZATIONAL PERSONALITY

SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON

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WHILE THE TREND in sociological research has been towards objectivity, the psycho-social analysis of a set of social activity groups, namely, the so-called social welfare organizations, has woefully lagged. In almost every metropolitan area scores or more of welfare organizations act and interact as distinct group units within the life of the community at large, but neither their natural history nor the processes involved in their evolution have been investigated as yet. In spite of the fact that these organizations play definite roles in society, although their study has been an object of theoretical deductions, their real nature still remains obscure.

In view of the general neglect of such an important group of social activity-units a sociological analysis of certain social welfare organizations was attempted. A survey of 108 organizations has shown that technique in the administration of poor relief, for instance, has developed from the scientific point of view, but the organizations which administer relief to the needs of the individual persons or to their families have been overlooked. Consequently, the private and the public life of certain organizations from the point of view of values and attitudes and the interplay between the individual organizations and their organizational milieu was analyzed. The technique employed was the application of the so-called life-history method to the social welfare organizations within the range of this study. Much

effort was devoted to the problem of selecting type-representative organizations. Unique manifestations were set aside, and out of the manifest common phenomena certain processes whereby organizations come into existence, maintain internal harmony and consensus, and endeavor to make adjustments with the requirements of their organizational milieu were observed. Psycho-social analysis means penetration through the web of overt behavior into the sphere of "values and attitudes."¹ The discovery of these values and attitudes is attempted through the analysis of the phenomenon of status. By looking into an organization's status it is possible to find the nature of organizational interstimulations and responses.

A survey of 108 social welfare organizations and an intensive study of five type-representatives of the total number has resulted in the formulation of the hypothesis of *organizational personality*.

Social welfare organizations are not sheer mechanical devices; on the contrary, they are living units of activity with a history of natural growth and development. As independent activity-units they emerge out of a social soil which is in flux, and maintain their existence through the presentation of real or imputed needs. In their origin the principle of *utility* is one of the fundamental operating factors. Associations always have the character, as Professor Bosanquet urges,² that they "appear *as if* they had been instituted to fulfill some purpose."³ Hence it is not only the folkways and mores that start out of needs, as the late Professor Sumner has so elaborately expounded, but also every social welfare organization emerges out of a real

¹ W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*.

² *Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 297.

³ Morris Ginsberg, *The Psychology of Society*, p. 123.

or fancied need.⁴ Organizations are conceived by individual persons who capitalize a need and thereby succeed in precipitating the emergence of a new activity-unit. If a person can demonstrate the *need*, its organizational objectivization becomes somewhat guaranteed. After a conviction as to the indispensability of a new activity-unit the rest becomes a matter of mechanics in advertising, tact, diplomacy, chicanery, illusionment, symbolization, etc. Whether social welfare organizations are *bona fide* or marginal, they are interested in showing a definite need, their particular efficiency in meeting that need, and a desire for the extension of their field of function in meeting other needs.

Throughout the life histories of the individual social welfare organizations, *function* occupies their foremost attention. These social activity-units are the product of social organization, disorganization, and reorganization. When the primary group manifests signs of disorganization, the Boy Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the Western Rangers, the Woodcraft League, the Trailfinders, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y.W.C.A. emerge to complete certain unfulfilled functions of the family. With modern industrialization the old "neighborliness," of which the late Professor Cooley spoke so highly, has begun to disappear. Consequently, the middle-class people rally to the banners of St. Vincent de Paul Society, Community Service Houses, Philanthropic and Civic Clubs, Queen's Daughters, Union Rescue Missions, etc., where opportunity for contact with neighbors is offered. Certain City Missions not only justify their existence but claim high standing in society because of their function in behalf of the down-and-outer. And all the so-

⁴ The application of this principle to other social units of activity such as religious, fraternal, recreational, and political opens a fertile field for research. Without going into details, the writer is inclined to think that whatever the study of the social welfare organizations has demonstrated will hold true of other social activity-units. The difference will be a matter of degree and not one of kind.

called clinical organizations like the Crippled Children's Guilds, Children's Hospitals, Maternity Homes, Psychological Clinics, Orthopædic Foundations, etc., enjoy enviable positions because of the *functions* they have assumed in making assets out of possible social liabilities. To ignore the idea of function in the fulfillment of certain real or assumed needs is to destroy the foundation upon which social welfare activity-units rest. Public support of a welfare organization is commensurate with the belief aroused in the services rendered, in the responsibilities assumed, and in the alleviation of the burden of the public at large through the discharge of functions. In the last analysis, the life of social welfare organizations rests upon the transference of *functions* from the general public to the specific activity-units. In a disorganized social order the inability of certain activity-units to make the necessary adjustments is responsible for the emergence of new and minor organizations which assume the tasks assigned to them. This is the underlying principle in the origin and the perpetuation of social welfare organizations and in the development of their *personalities*.

— In ordinary speech the term, and in philosophical, psychological, and sociological literature the concept of *personality* is in vogue. Neither the psychologists nor the sociologists have succeeded thus far in concocting a final definition of this term. *Personality* as a concept still remains a *working hypothesis* in order to explain certain psychosocial phenomena. It is a tool the nature of which is not fully analyzed objectively, so that no two group representatives will give it the same meaning when the term *personality* is used.⁵

⁵ We do not wish to assume the responsibility of offering a complete and final definition of *personality* at this juncture. Meanwhile, judging the results of our objective study of certain social welfare organizations, we find some fundamental characteristics which are accepted as elements involved in "personality."

Individuals are born as biological units, but they become persons through the assignment of status by their associates because of the role they play.⁶ Furthermore, as Thomas and Znaniecki point out "a personality is always a constitutive element of some social group."⁷ Social welfare organizations, as independent activity-units, but living within a social environment, depend upon the attitudes and the values of other activity-units. Approval or disapproval of the interacting organizations defines the relation of one to the rest. Bechtereve realizes the significance of this situation when he admits that "objective expressions are the contributors which the personality makes to its *external social environment*."⁸ More than that, only these objective expressions of personality are accessible to external observation and they alone have objectivity.⁹ Moreover, this biologist claims that "personality is the basis upon which all social institutions, movements, and conditions, in short all social phenomena rest."¹⁰ Consequently, the importance of the social environment in the acquisition of status, therefore of *personality*, is obvious.

A group of behavioristic and social-psychologists support the same thesis. According to the foremost American behaviorist in psychology, "personality is a man-made and not a divine gift."¹¹ Professor John Dewey defines personality as "whatever is unique in the individual from the point of view of social efficiency."¹² Professor Floyd H. Allport maintains that "with the exception of a few traits, personality may be defined as the individual's characteris-

⁶ Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 55.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 18-32.

⁸ Italics are mine.

⁹ Quoted by Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁰ Quoted by Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹¹ John B. Watson, *The Ways of Behaviorism*, p. 116.

¹² John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 142.

tic reactions to social stimuli, and the quality of his adaptation to the social features of his environment."¹³ Furthermore, he adds, "in its genetic development, also, personality is dependent upon social contacts."¹⁴ And again, "personality is therefore a result of social behavior."¹⁵ Such interpretations are conceded by the psychologists. Invariably the emphasis is laid upon *social contacts*: interstimulation and interaction within the social milieu.

Whereas there exists no agreement among the sociologists as to what *personality* is, like the psychologists, the ones offered are decidedly emphatic on the *social interaction* side. Professors R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess define *personality* "as the sum and organization of those traits which determine the role of the individual in the group."¹⁶ And again, "the person is an individual who has status."¹⁷ Furthermore, "every smaller group has a status in some larger group of which it is a part and this is determined by its relation to all the other members of the larger group."¹⁸ Professor E. E. Eubank does not deviate much from this interpretation when he says: "a person is equal to a situation self."¹⁹ And again, "the person plays a different role in each group of which he is a part."²⁰

The above psycho-social definitions of *personality* as applied to individual human beings, have their counterpart in the social welfare activity-units. A social welfare organization lives within an organizational milieu. It acquires status by virtue of interaction. The social situations stimulate these activity-units and determine their role within

¹³ *Social Psychology*, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁹ *Sociology and Social Research*, XII, p. 354.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

the organizational environment. The role of one activity-unit among other activity-units causes the assignment of rank and position by the latter to the former. And if the role of the individual in the group determines his *personality*, may not the role of a social welfare organization, as an independent unit, within the social welfare organizational environment in general, determine its *personality*?

According to our study of the social welfare activity-units there appear three fundamental factors which enter into the make-up of their personality. These are: (1) the "original nature" of the activity-unit, (2) the status-assigning environment, and (3) the reaction of the activity-unit to its status. As to the first, each social welfare organization is a definite unit and distinguishable from every other unit of activity in society. It is composed of *persons*. The attitudes and the values of the organizing group give tone and color to their organization. "The essence of organization is the coordination and adjustment of the activities of the individuals who have formed an association with a view to the attainment of a common end."²¹ Each constituent member of the organization brings with him "the so-called stored stimuli"²² which are based upon personal experiences. The coordination of the somewhat similar personal objectives creates an *action-pattern* for the organized group whereby their unit of activity becomes distinguishable from other activity-units. Hence an organization emerges through the subscription of certain persons to a set of values which later appear in its Constitution or the Articles of Incorporation. Genetically speaking, at first such values may be entertained only by one person, but when it becomes the accepted values of a definite body of men who identify themselves as a corporate body, it con-

²¹ Morris Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²² M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, p. 67.

stitutes the "original nature" of the organization.²³ These original values, goals, purposes, objectives, etc., become modified in the course of time according to social exigencies, but a purpose, whether well-defined or ambiguous, whether consciously pursued or unconsciously groped for persists in the life of every social welfare organization. These organizations struggle and strive for the acquisition of desirable status because of some end or purpose in view. Ends are values towards which action is taken by these organizations. Hence the reference to the original nature of an organization implies nothing more than the embodiment of the attitudes and the accepted set of values at the time of the organization's emergence. Truly enough, each organization has its own objectives, its own values which it seeks to fulfill and which constitute a part of its total nature.

The second factor entering into the composition of organizational personality was intimated above as the *organizational milieu*. The very fact that social welfare organizations seek and fight for status indicates social interdependence. Even the assignment of rank or position implies an organizational environment. Whatever an organization's original nature be, it needs *other* organizations to react to. The significance of the original nature becomes much more apparent when these accepted values come into contact with other sets of values and patterns of action. It is the external conditions in terms of social situations which, after all, prepare the stage where the individual organization may play its part. Undoubtedly, the surrounding and the somewhat interrelated organizations as objective factors create competitive, conflicting, or accommodative situations. Without social contact and interstimulation, the original nature cannot express itself. The organizational milieu offers the opportunity for growth and devel-

²³ By the use of the expression "original nature" no biological connotations or implications are involved. The definition given is self-explanatory.

opment or it curbs the manifestation of these new action-patterns and causes the death of the organization. In the concept of organizational personality, although the place of original nature is significant, the social situation created by other organizations and by the public at large is indispensable. No social welfare activity-unit lives its organizational life without social approbation of some kind. Thus, organizational personality manifests the original nature as the subjective, and the status-assigning milieu as the objective aspects of the general process.

Although the original nature and the social milieu remain significant and indispensable elements in organizational personality, the ability of an organization to react to the judgments of other activity-units also is basic. The assignment of status is meaningless if there be no reaction to it. An organization's personality is revealed through its reactions to the total as well as to specific situations. Reactions are forms of behavior, and as such they determine the conduct of the activity-units. Upon the conduct of an organization depends the assignment of status. Social welfare organizations are recognized and known through *what they do, to what they react, and the way they behave in general*. Each manifestation of behavior reaction to the assignment of status reveals an aspect of the nature of an organization but not the complete personality. Like a "multi-selfed" person, an organization presents a different phase of its make-up toward each situation. According to the nature of the organizational situation a different *mask* is worn in order to gain or to retain a desirable status. To take a simple illustration, a Mission dealing with an anti-mission group behaves differently as compared with its reactions to sympathetic groups. When it is fighting for admission into the local Community Chest as a fund-participant resort is made to different tactics as against the cold-blooded "freezing-out" of another competing small mission.

An investigator's unfavorable criticisms bring different reactions compared with the laudatory remarks of a religious adherent. One day the mission is fighting a group, the next day it is cooperating with another group. Hence, it is not the single reaction at a given time that characterizes the nature of the organization, but the sum total of all the reactions manifested throughout the life of the activity-unit determine its *personality*.

In view of the foregoing, social welfare organizations come into existence by entertaining certain sets of values and action-patterns; they live within a status-assigning organizational milieu; and they acquire status by playing a definite role which reveals the nature of their reactions. As an individual lives within a group or groups and thereby, through the assignment of status becomes a person and develops *personality*, no less truly does the phenomenon hold for these social welfare activity-units.

Referring to the concept of *organizational personality* introduced here, attention is called to another phase of the problem of personality in general. Whereas personality manifests itself through reactions, behavior, conduct, etc., each behavior in itself does not constitute the personality. In the tentative definition of organizational personality, the idea of *totality* is suggested. Not the isolated reactions in themselves, but the *sum total of all the reactions manifested throughout the life of a social welfare activity-unit determine the nature, therefore the personality of an organization*. The fragmentary expressions of behavior as reactions to status are only indicative of the aspects of organizational personality. In order to discover the real nature of an organization an inventory of all the characteristic reactions from its inception to the present is necessary. Consequently, *organizational personality* is to be understood as a *totality*, never a single part no matter how important a part of the life of the organization.

I BECOME AMERICAN

ANNIE MARION MacLEAN

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SO MUCH at home have I always felt in the country of my adoption that it has occurred to me only recently that I am an immigrant and consequently more or less of a problem. The fact is I am a Canadian, born on Prince Edward Island (that last outpost of prohibition in the British Commonwealth of Nations), brought up in Nova Scotia and long resident in the United States.

It was a foregone conclusion that I should come to the land of the free. My earliest vocational ambition was to be President of the United States. This ambition was due to the discovery at the age of eight that my birthday coincided with Inauguration Day. How could a child know that the cards were stacked against her on two counts? However, by the time I was through college and ready to come to the "States," my early ambition had gone glimmering and I was willing to fill a more humble place, quite sure that I had every right to enter. Were not my relatives and friends filling positions of trust all over this idealized land? So far as I was concerned Boston was, to all intents and purposes, a maritime province city, while many New Englanders and Nova Scotians were blood brothers who, in Washington's time, fell out over some questions of practical politics. The Tories (known locally as United Empire Loyalists), together with migrations from Scotland and England and a fringe of French formed our basic population but we never cherished any feelings of enmity against the prosperous new nation. Why should we? Bos-

ton was our nearest market, our economic utopia. Farmers' sons and daughters went there to drive trucks and cook in kitchens, two occupations they would scorn at home. Attired in fashionable clothes, they returned in summer to dazzle the natives from whom many new American laborers were recruited each fall.

So far as opportunities for work at home were concerned, the situation for the white collar classes was about the same as for manual laborers, extremely limited in both cases. Save to those of a pioneering spirit, the Canadian West was not attractive. The thing to do was to don a fresh white collar and buy a ticket to the U. S. A. No embarrassing questions were asked about birth certificates or funds in hand. Only luggage was interrogated. Just as easy as that. The eighty thousand Canadians who entered last year found it much more difficult than those who came in the nineties to make out a case for themselves. They had to show good reason why they should join their two million brothers and sisters already here. The indications are that the future may offer still greater embarrassment to aspiring Canadian entrants. Those of us already domiciled here may well assume the look of the cat that swallowed the canary.

When I arrived in this country my mental baggage contained only vague sketches of American history. Bunker Hill and Gettysburg might be in the same township so far as my knowledge was concerned, while the names of the Presidents were not in any of the pigeon holes in my brain. But a few hours with a book or two straightened those matters out and whetted my appetite for study in the fascinating field of United States history and government.

After a bit of running about, my American debut was made in the middle west where at a great University I learned more about my own national idiosyncracies than I

had ever known. Departmental work in the graduate school was simple enough; methods of study presented no new challenges, but I discovered that I was a foreigner! The United States had never seemed a foreign country to me, but, once here, Canada was undoubtedly an alien land. True we spoke the same language, yet my difficulties were mainly linguistic. I did not know then what unbelievable liberties flimsily educated middle westerners take with the common tongue. Illiterates everywhere speak ungrammatically, but I was entirely unprepared for certain picturesque expressions such as: "He was kicked by the hind limb of a horse" or "I saw forty elephants each holding onto the one in front of them's tail." The latter descriptive statement is appealing to me now and since it has been stored in my mind for years, doubtless I shall sometime find occasion suitable for its use. My troubles, or perhaps annoyances, were not so much with grammatical forms as with accent, intonation, idiomatic expressions and pronunciation. I arrived with a heritage of broad "a's" as natural to me as the color of my eyes but which seemed to be regarded by my new friends as an indication of affectation.

The student population represented practically every state in the Union and each state seemed to have its own brand of speech, none of which was like mine. In general, laugh was "laff," aunt was "ant," while class, pass, mass, glass had the flattest possible "a's". On the other hand, my out was "oot," my dollar was "dolear," my dog was "dawg" (so they said), and my cake was dough. Children and young people usually hate to be different from their mates. I therefore sought to conform with the result that, when I went home in the summer, people said I talked like a Yankee! And there you are. Later I gave conformity up as a bad job and, joyfully reverting to type, brazenly sounded my vowels as entitled to by my ancestry. Inci-

dentally my courage was strengthened by the the discovery that the weight of scholastic authority was sometimes with me.

It was not only vowel sounds that bewildered me in those early days. Usage was frequently mystifying. Every form of adjunct to a house which I had known variously as verandah, piazza, balcony, porch, steps and stoop seemed to be, often to my confusion, simply a porch. A tryst on the front steps in the gloaming became a date on the porch and to my alien intelligence was associated with back doors. On summer evenings, it seemed that wherever there were steps leading to the sidewalk, there the people sat. To sit thus publicly on a city street was something I could not do. The oft-repeated, "It's a free country, do as you please," did not commend the custom to my privacy loving soul. But it was a very sensible thing for people in a steaming city to do. I could understand the custom better than I could the designation of the place as "porch." But I have become so thoroughly Americanized, that without a single twitch of my provincial nerves, I could hear the entrance to a Mohammedan mosque called a porch or even a patio.

It was not porches alone that caused my conversational downfall; curtains, window shades, blinds and shutters also threw me into confusion. The terms were used interchangeably. Call a shutter a blind, a blind a shade or a curtain? *Never*, thought I in secret! But my greatest humiliation came when, in innocent accord with the custom of my own land, I called a single horse and carriage a "team!"

Never shall I forget my emotions on hearing for the first time inquiry pronounced "inkworry." "I'll make inkworry," the woman said. It must be a joke, I thought, but no, she was serious. As soon as practicable I flew to the dictionary. Many times since, in various parts of the coun-

try, I have heard that word and always with a wicked desire to use it as pronounced, but up to date my courage has been insufficient. There is a certain fascination about strange errors; mistakes constantly heard arouse no imitative ambitions.

Once an educated friend from New York State corrected me for saying "slush." "Slosh, you mean," she said. That is where the immigrant worm turned. After walking in slush for months every year of my life, I was not going to degrade the experience, when I had authority on my side, by calling it "slosh." On to the dictionary! Another shock came one time when I said: "I lost my brooch (pronounced broach) last night." "You mean 'brutch'," commented my Massachusetts companion. That nearly threw me into apoplexy, for though a pronunciation having secondary authority, I had never before heard it.

Some of my own pronunciations, however, with a total lack of logic, I dropped like red hot coals as, for instance, zed for the last letter of the alphabet and lieutenant for lieutenant. Yet when the war came, fashions changed and many one-hundred-per-centers clumsily adopted the British lieutenant. And the same people could be heard saying cemet'ry, but I never reverted to type.

One day a man introduced me to another woman as "a new Canuck." "Now, what in the world is a Canuck?" said I. Never before had I heard that term applied to Canadians. Nova Scotians had long been called "Blue-noses," interpreted as a tribute at once to their "blue blood" and an acknowledgement of their disagreeable climate. But "Canuck" was something new under the sun. In my little corner of the world it was not used.

Soon after my arrival in the land of so-called freedom, breakfasting with a group of new friends, I refused coffee, saying I would take tea. A young woman beside me said:

"Dearie, you can't have tea for breakfast. You know that might precipitate a revolution!" Here again I must conform. After sampling the pale but potent green tea finally produced, conformity in the matter of a breakfast beverage was not so difficult for the stranger.

Once on hearing a surprising story, I ejaculated "Just fancy!" One of my companions said: "You English do have the queerest swear words." Shades of my theological forbears, I was not trying to be profane! Of course, I should have said "Gosh" or whatever was its current equivalent. Then, too, it is about as complimentary to call a Canadian English as to call a Norwegian a Swede! Truly, my troubles were multiplying. About this time I saw in a large city store a stuffed bear labelled "Polar Bear from Nova Scotia." I sought an usher, pointed out the error, saying, "Should not that be Nova Zembla?" "Oh," said he, "same thing, isn't it?"

In addition to a variation of a common tongue I brought here a native reserve that never ceases to wonder at the lack of reticence about me. My most intimate personal affairs have never been subject matter for conversation, but my neighbors joyously babble about theirs to my delectation. Yet when trouble comes, the babblers envelop one in silent sympathy that makes sisters of us all, while more reticent people seem cold.

Long have I sought some indication that I am Americanized, some word or phrase that I use as spontaneously as a native. Perhaps I have found it. I inquired of a scholar from the Eastern coast how his laboratory experiments were coming on. He replied, "Fine, just fine." I asked another: "How is business?" "Fine, just fine; it's fine that the Republicans are in." A farmer said that the crops were "fine," an oilman, that the output was "fine," a mother, that the children were "fine," a student, that his

course was "fine." Once I asked a college professor just out of the hospital how he felt. "Fine, just fine," said he, and his small son declared that his new dog was "fine." Then young Kosumi Osaka told me his baby was "fine," adding with Oriental politeness, "And how are you?" Without hesitation I replied: "Fine, just fine." Now I know that I am an American!

The passing years have blurred differences so that they no longer stand out stark and terrifying. There are in this country about forty-eight native ways of linguistic expression. My way is only another. In Scotland, home of my fathers, I pass for an "American." In New York I have been called a Virginian; in Florida, a New Englander; in Illinois, a Yankee; while in California I was asked what county in Iowa I came from!

My early home is a beloved memory; her political and social progress are always interesting and vital to me. New national loyalties should not be based on hatred of the old, but rather on an accumulation of habits of loyalty. This is easily possible for the person who comes from a country accustomed to the parliamentary form of government and to the participation of all the people in problems relating to their own welfare. I could never be a fanatical nationalist. My mind was not trained for narrow grooves; my heart goes out to the world. Yet I feel myself a part of our great democratic experiment although I am technically a resident alien. I tell with regret that I am not a citizen. Ever since women became citizenship conscious and quite generally exercised the franchise, I have been in the grip of a tyrannous invalidism that has prevented active participation in outside affairs. But I have chosen where to live, and, unimportant though it is, if I could choose where to die, it would be under the Stars and Stripes.

THE COMMUNALITY

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THE SOCIAL LIFE of the city seems to be measurable in two dimensions: the *territorial*, on the basis of the actual space utilized; and the *psycho-social*, on the basis of a person's contact with other persons and their mutual inter-stimulation and response, i.e., on the basis of associations. There is a close relationship between the two dimensions: for instance, the *psycho-social range* of any person may be limited by the radius of a few blocks in a congested urban section or extended territorially to a radius of many miles in connection with work and various social activities. However, these two definitions may not coincide. The person occupies a certain space; he has "standing room." His neighbor and he live on adjoining lots and both are affected by street conditions, traffic regulations, transportation conveniences, telephone service, tax rates, property values or rentals. Outside of these civic and general economic concerns, related to "place," the two men, although living next door to each other, may have nothing in common. They may belong to different racial cultures and may not be governed by the same mores. Each has his own circle or circles of friends and fellow members of play group, lodge, church. These informal and more formal associations may spread across miles of space and have no relation to the place considered home.

A short time ago, an intensive study¹ was made of a middle-class residential area in the city of Los Angeles, in-

¹ See Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*, University of Southern California Studies, Social Science Series (1929).

volving interviews with 649 families, to determine something of the forces and factors underlying the life of the people living within a changing urban environment and the resultant current of social organization.² Although the area studied is located in a city of over a million population and within a twenty-minute street-car ride of the shopping center, it is not a congested section and represents in a measure the traditional, middle-class residential district with a prevailing single house pattern of dwelling. among its present-day residents were discovered duplicates of the types of neighboring of the earlier days—calling on neighbors, kindnesses in times of distress, care of children, lending and borrowing, occasional good times together, conversations, friendly greetings. However, while proximity of residence makes participation³ possible, it does not insure it. The physical extent of neighboring is much circumscribed today and is limited to a few adjacent houses. The complementary fact is the tendency towards non-participation, that is, abstention from association with nigh-dwellers.⁴

Non-participation tends to disturb social organization by the person's deliberate holding himself aloof from association with his neighbors and his expressed lack of interest in them and in the neighborhood. *Local non-participation does not mean non-association.* The person cannot separate himself entirely from his fellows, though he can to a certain degree separate himself socially from his neighbors. Non-participation in his neighborhood may be correlated

² By *social organization* is meant the forms of association which underlie the various legally constituted and voluntarily organized functional agencies.

³ By *participation* is meant the act of associating with nigh-dwellers, characterized by a considerable degree of intimacy. *Limited participation* is manifested principally in exchange of greetings. *Non-participation* is abstention from association. It largely eliminates the personal element involved in participation.

⁴ *Nigh-dweller* emphasizes adjacent residence in contrast to *neighbor* which signifies more intimate association.

with association with companions none of whom has locus⁵ in the particular geographical area in which the activity occurs. The participants may come from a wide radius and may know each other only in that one relationship, as one of the interviewees explained in considerable detail:

I don't think I have been in my neighbor's house next door in twenty years. We visit over the back fence but she has her friends and I have mine and we have no interest in common. I have three different sets of friends. My friends at the B—— Club are large in number and I always meet them at the Club and nowhere else. Then I have my church friends; I meet them at the church and nowhere else. And then there is my third set of friends, the social friends, whom I meet at teas and luncheons.⁶

The statements from the families within the area studied repeatedly speak of the separation of interests and the gradual sundering of close personal ties, when such have existed, even among the families living near each other for many years, and the entrance of members of these families into different "sets" with a wide range of territory covered in the residences of the "new friends." The *psycho-social range* spreads out to include residents of far distant neighborhoods. The circles of the members of the same family may not touch each other and even the circles of one member may include few, if any, of the same people. For example, the intimate group of participants in dancing may be entirely different from the membership of a dramatic club. Proximity of residence may signify little in the establishment of friendships since social and emotional satisfactions are largely secured in groups based primarily upon congeniality of interests.

The lack of social dependence upon locus and mobility of contacts have been made possible by modern methods of

⁵ *Locus* means spatial placement, the position of a person relative to other persons in degrees of proximity or contiguity. It is the place of residence, that is, whatever place is regarded as "home," whether it is a house, an apartment, or a room.

⁶ See pp. 63-64, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*.

transportation which have eliminated former separating distances and have made it unnecessary to live in the same neighborhood with friends and associates. These facts suggest that a type of association, supplementary to the neighborhood and community, is being developed which is located wherever the means of transportation can carry the person; which is defined in social contacts not limited spatially; and which may be called the *communality*.⁷ The communality is a social grouping for the carrying on of an activity, whose members are drawn together on the basis of the common interest or interests subserved. *Neither the communality itself nor its total membership is specifically related to any local area.* It is an activity-circle. It is functional and not spatial.

The concept of communality corresponds closely with that of association, which has been defined as "an organization of social beings—for the pursuit of some common interest or interests."⁸ The difference is largely a matter of emphasis. The association may be either local or non-local. The communality has no attachment, through its membership, to a definite locality. It may be formally or informally organized,—a lodge, a club, a lecture audience, a theater crowd, or simply a gathering of friends around a camp fire on the beach. Relationships may be intimate or distant. The significance of the communality is that it is a non-local activity.

⁷ *Communality* has its derivation in the Middle English word, *comonalte*, *communalite*. *Comonalty* is the current English term and is defined as "the common people; the common" (2); "the body or general membership of a body corporate" (4); and with the obsolete connotation, "a community or commonwealth." (*Webster's New International Dictionary*.) The word, *communality*, was utilized by the author and given the special meaning as indicated. After the word and its meaning had been decided upon, it was discovered that the same word had been used, with a different meaning, by W. J. McGee ("The Beginning of Agriculture," *American Anthropologist*, VIII, 362-75), quoted by W. I. Thomas in *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 55.

⁸ See R. M. MacIver, *Community*, pp. 23-24.

Since communalities are independent of local control and highly flexible and also because they may vary in their values and standards of conduct, it is of vital importance to society whether the contributions they make shall be destructive or constructive relative to the future social order. To be socially constructive, participation within the communality must provide opportunity for the acceptance of responsibility not only for personal welfare but also for that of the larger whole. It must also promote the expression of the potentialities and abilities of each member.

Differentiated groups of interest-circles were found in the primary-group neighborhood, but the behavior of the members was checked by reference to the common values and was subject to the control of the intimately known neighbors. Besides, the activities took place within the territorial limits of group-observation. Certain behavior was *expected* and the ever-ready supervision and social discipline of disapproval and even ostracism enforced the local code. The changes in social organization today are mirrored in the prevalence of non-local groups operating without reference to the values of any common primary group, and without control by a social whole, the approval of whose members is sought to establish status.⁹

The data obtained in this local study consistently point to the decreasing significance of the local area as a base for personal associations and the substitution of that of specialized interests.¹⁰ Individualization of activity and partial forms of association supplement and tend to replace the earlier common shared social experiences in which the whole of the personality was involved. Today, persons come in

⁹ *Status* is defined as the place which the person occupies in the group. It is one of man's dearest possessions and satisfies one of the most elemental social drives, the wish for recognition.

¹⁰ Society has in times past been organized on a kinship basis; political organization with a territorial base succeeded it. Common interests is a third bond uniting people into social units.

contact with each other at the point of a certain activity. In an earlier day, friends shared many activities and knew each other in many different situations. As far as many of the local residents are concerned, the conclusion is inescapable that the greater territorial and psycho-social range now possible and the decreased social dependence upon nigh-dwellers have tended to make them less neighborhood-minded and less typically the traditional neighbor. Is a new type making itself evident which is community-minded? Out of city living and urban experiences, is a maturity of personality becoming manifest in the ability of the person to identify himself with a wider and wider group, with a larger and larger whole? We cannot answer. However, it is apparent that the person is escaping, in measure, the control of the local community and is finding the standards and approval of his behavior not among his neighbors but among the members of different groups unrelated to his place of residence.

The greater the number of associations and communalities to which the person belongs, the less chance there exists for many shared experiences by the residents of a neighborhood or community. Yet these shared experiences within the local primary group were one of the most prolific sources for the discovery and acceptance of those common values,¹¹ essential for social integration.¹² The central problem of today seems to be that of the adjustment be-

¹¹ "Civilized human beings—cannot live together harmoniously without some mutually accepted scale of values by which they can measure and regulate conduct" (C. A. Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, pp. 21-22); and it may be added that social control is necessary to safeguard "the collective welfare from the ravages of egoism" (E. A. Ross, *Social Control*, p. 293).

¹² The integration of personality is a function of the primary group (L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 413). The principle of reference is the standards of the inclusive group and the value of its approval. "Only a strong consciousness of group unity and a fairly closeknit association" with its standards "can secure a socially desirable behavior on the part of [the] members without having recourse to methods of force and external restraint" (Spykman, *Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, p. 195).

tween the apparently characteristic impersonal relationships in local areas and possible stabilizing and integrating methods of social control.¹³ In other words, the characteristic problem of social organization at the present time, growing out of the tenuous hold of spatially conditioned, that is, locally conditioned, relationships, is the discovery of a common denominator for the diversity of the existent communalities. From a practical standpoint, the problem resolves itself into that of how and where in the great urban centers will the person acquire a socialized measure for behavior and a set of standards which shall combine both personal and social controls.

¹³ Cooley considers "the characteristic moral problem of our time, not only in the family but in all of our life, is that of substituting a free for a dogmatic discipline, of preserving integrity in the midst of a somewhat distracting increase of choice" (Cooley, *Life and the Student*, p. 11).

LEGAL STATUS OF FILIPINO INTERMARRIAGES IN CALIFORNIA

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THE LEGAL STATUS of Filipino intermarriages in the State of California has not yet been established, and the situation with regard to such marriages is one of confusion, of contradictory practices and policies, of inconsistencies and insecurities. There is equal confusion in other states. There are no federal statutory provisions regarding marriage; no written legal decisions exist; and there are no specific references to Filipinos in the marriage laws of any state.¹

Thirteen states may be said to limit by inference the freedom of Filipinos to intermarry with persons of other races, depending upon the racial classification of Filipinos in those states. The remaining thirty-five states place no barrier on Filipino intermarriage. Nine states (Arizona, California, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, Mississippi, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming) attempt to prevent marriages of Caucasians and Mongolians. In only two of the states, South Dakota and Wyoming, is the term "Malay" used in the text of marriage laws. Nevada makes it "unlawful for a white person to marry a person of the black, brown, yellow or red race" and Nebraska declares void marriages between "a white person and a person of one-eighth or more Negro, Japanese or Chinese blood." In

¹ All references to legislation in the various states are derived from *Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States*, by Geoffrey May (Russell Sage Foundation, 1929). A letter from the author dated December 26, 1930, states: "I doubt if you are going to find any legislation more recent than 1927 which concerns miscegenation. . . . I feel quite sure that up to three years ago there was never a printed case in any of the American courts concerning the validity of the marriage of a Filipino as such."

Oklahoma "the marriage of persons of African descent with persons not of African descent shall be unlawful and is hereby prohibited." Oregon states that "it shall be unlawful for any white person hereafter to intermarry with any person having one-fourth or more Negro, Chinese or Kana-ka blood, or any person having more than one-half Indian blood." It was made unlawful after 1924 in Virginia "for any white person to marry any save a white person—one having no trace whatever of any blood other than Caucasian—or a person of other admixture of blood than white and American Indian of one-sixteenth or less." Georgia has made elaborate provision in recent legislation for the discovering of race prior to issuance of marriage licenses, and "makes felonious and void the intermarriage of a white person and a person with an ascertainable trace of African, West Indian, Asiatic Indian or Mongolian blood."

The utter confusion and lack of uniformity in the marriage laws of the various states relative to miscegenation creates many serious problems. It would be difficult, for instance, to decide as to the right of *any* individual to marry, should he be required to establish proof of the racial classification of his ancestry, since the blood of many persons known as white Americans is infiltrated with that of other racial strains. In California, for example, the Attorney General is said to have rendered an opinion classifying the American Indian as Mongolian, and the Mexican as Indian. If such opinions are sustained by higher courts the validity of the marriages of many of America's best known citizens might be questioned.

Until about 1925 the right of the Filipino to marry persons of any race had not been seriously challenged in California. In fact, the number of Filipinos in continental United States previous to 1920 was insignificant,² and as

² In 1910, according to the federal census, the Filipino population was 160; in 1920, 5,603; in 1931 it is estimated at from 60,000 to 75,000.

one county clerk stated, "When they first began coming to the United States we thought they were as good as we were and had a right to marry anybody." Later, as immigration increased so that the number became more noticeable, public attention was called to problems arising from economic competition and social intermingling.

In California the legislative enactments dealing with the subject of miscegenation are found in Section 60 of the Civil Code, which provides:

"All marriages of white persons with Negroes; Mongolians or mulattoes are illegal and void."³

Section 69 of the same Code prohibits the issuance of marriage licenses to persons coming within the scope of Section 60, and the administrative officers (county clerks) of the state have been faced with the practical problem of deciding as to the issuance of marriage licenses to Filipinos. Efforts have been made to have the above sections interpreted to include Filipinos but no case has as yet been passed on by a higher court. In 1929 the Immigration Section of the Commonwealth Club of California recommended that "Section 60 of the Civil Code be amended to expressly prohibit marriages between Filipinos and members of the white race."⁴

COURT ACTION IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY AND LEGAL OPINION

It is probable that much of the agitation for intermarriage restrictions affecting the Filipinos has been due to the sensational publicity connected with a few events involving social relations between Filipino men and white women.

³ This Section was amended in 1901 by the addition of the word "Mongolian," following a period of agitation against Chinese and Japanese on the Pacific Coast.

⁴ "Filipino Immigration," Part II, *The Commonwealth* (Transactions of the Commonwealth Club) Vol. 24, No. 7, p. 320.

The earliest of these circumstances in Los Angeles was the Yatko case.⁵

On May 11, 1925, Timothy S. Yatko, Jr., was found guilty of the charge of murder in the first degree and was sentenced to the California State Prison at San Quentin for the remainder of his natural life. The court records and transcript of testimony in this case reveal the following:

Yatko was a Filipino waiter, born near Manila, twenty-one years old at the time of his trial. He had been in the United States three years. On November 17, 1924, he had been married by a Baptist minister in San Diego to Lola Butler, white American, born in Durango, Colorado. They had met the previous May at the North Main dance hall in Los Angeles, and lived together after their marriage at 720 S. Westlake, Los Angeles, until February 14, 1925, when she left him, stating that she no longer loved him and wanted to have nothing more to do with him. Before her marriage Mrs. Yatko had worked at the Club Latino and following her marriage she was employed in a "girl show" at 151 S. Main Street, Los Angeles, as a singer and dancer. Harry L. Kidder, a white American, was employed at the same show as a substitute piano player.

Late in the evening of February 25, 1925, Yatko met his wife and Kidder in a downtown grill. He talked with them and later watched them leave together in a taxi. He tried to follow them and finally learned of their destination, Kidder's apartment, through a taxi driver. Yatko then appealed to the police. "I got in the police station and I saw the officer that night and I asked that somebody go with me to see my wife and Mr. Kidder what they were doing. And there is nobody to go with me and I told him 'Well, I am in trouble and I need help' . . . and they say they had no right, they must have a warrant. There is no evidence."

With two other Filipinos, known to Yatko only by their Christian names, he went to the apartment house where Mr. Kidder had rented an apartment the night before. The landlord testified that he had not used the apartment before the night of the tragedy. While the two boys remained below Yatko looked in the window and saw his wife lying on the bed attired in "her teddy bears," and Mr. Kidder

⁵ People of the State of California vs. Timothy S. Yatko, Jr., No. 24795 in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, Department 18, Judge Carlos S. Hardy, presiding.

in BVD's seated near her, kissing her. Yatko demanded admission but was told "Get the hell out of here" by Kidder and in the fight which ensued Yatko stabbed Kidder several times. In the meantime Mrs. Yatko disappeared. Yatko then went to the police and surrendered himself.

In the murder trial against Yatko the legality of his marriage was collaterally attacked by the state in order to permit Mrs. Yatko to testify against her husband. (Her testimony when given was very brief and of apparently little importance.) The counsel for the state contended that such marriage "was null and void from the beginning and on the ground that the defendant, Yatko, was a Filipino." The court was asked to rule on the racial classification of Filipinos since there was no earlier decision on the subject in California or elsewhere. Mention was made of the fact that Yatko's paternal grandfather was half Chinese.

Lengthy arguments were made by counsel, the jury being excluded, and the judge made frequent comment. Authorities cited as to the subject of ethnology and the classification of races included the following: Blumenbach, Linnæus, Buffon, Cuvier, Haddon, H. G. Wells, Keane and Ridpath; also Senate Document (1910-11) 662 entitled "Mongolian, Mongol, Mongolic, Mongoloid, Asiatic or Yellow Race," the Encyclopedia Americana and federal decisions in naturalization cases in which Filipinos and Burmese were classified as Malays.

Counsel for the state called attention to the "homicidal mania" of Malays, called "running amuck," which he stated was a neuropathic tendency imbuing them without any reason or motive to kill persons of other races. He discussed the evil effects of miscegenation generally and cited Mexico as a specific example of the effects of race mixture. "We see the result that the Mexican nation had not had the standing, had not the citizens as it would otherwise if it had remained pure." He stated, moreover, that "when the white people, or the Caucasians, came to the United States they did not intermarry with the Indians, they kept themselves pure."

Counsel for the defendant (Yatko) pleaded that "if the court rules that this marriage is void, he also makes void a great many marriages that have been recognized publicly and openly under the laws of this state." He called attention to the well established presumption of law that marriages are to be sustained, and to the fact that if marriages of Filipinos and white persons were declared void, mar-

riages of Indians and white persons would also be void since the same authorities declaring the Filipino a Mongolian also include Indians as a branch of the Mongolian race." Mention was made of the non-existence of any Filipino problem in California at the time the amendment to Section 60 of the Civil Code was passed by the Legislature.

The presiding judge said, during the arguments as to the legality of the Yatko marriage, that "the dominant race of the country has a perfect right to exclude all other races from equal rights with its own people and to prescribe such rights as they may possess. . . . I regard this question of far reaching importance, coming to me in the way it does. Our government is in control of a large body of people of the insular possessions, for whom it is acting as a sort of guardian and it has extended certain rights and privileges to them. . . . Here we see a large body of young men, ever-increasing, working amongst us, associating with our citizens, all of whom are under the guardianship and to some extent the tutelage of our national government, and for whom we feel the deepest interest, of course, naturally . . . the question ought to be determined whether or not they can come into this country and intermarry with our American girls or bring their Filipino girls here to intermarry with our American men, if that situation should arise. The matter ought to be settled." In giving his decision the court said: "It is my full conviction, based upon what little scientific knowledge I have, and mostly from my observation (he had alluded several times to his long residence and experience in the South and particularly to that in one community where the Negro population was five times that of the White) and from my reading of history, that the Negro race will become highly civilized and become one of the great races only if it proceeds within its own lines marked out by Nature and keeps its blood pure. And I have the same feeling with respect to other races. . . . I am quite satisfied in my own mind . . . that the Filipino is a Malay and that the Malay is a Mongolian, just as much as the white American is of the Teutonic race, the Teutonic family, or of the Nordic family, carrying it back to the Aryan family. Hence, it is my view that under the code of California as it now exists, intermarriage between a Filipino and a Caucasian would be void."

Motion for appeal was made by counsel for the defendant, Yatko, but on the day set for hearing no one appeared on his behalf in the Appellate Court.

One legal opinion affecting the administrative officers of the state in the issuance of marriage licenses has been that of the Attorney General, the Hon. U. S. Webb, who ruled as follows on June 8th, 1926:

While we find some difference, as will be noted, as to the number of classifications into which the human race should be divided, there seems to be no difference of opinion that the Malays belong to the Mongoloid Race and therefore, come under the classification of Mongolians. The Filipino, with the exception of the inhabitants belonging to the black race and to the whites constituting a negligible proportion of the population, being Malays, are therefore, properly classed as Mongolians and marriages between them and white persons are prohibited by the provisions of Section 60 of the Civil Code, aforesaid."⁶

The opinions of the Attorney General are, however, not binding, and there has been no uniformity as to the classification of Filipinos in the issuance of marriage licenses by the county clerks of the state. One clerk stated that the opinion of the Attorney General was just one man's opinion and that in deciding in his county as to issuance of licenses he made the decision in each case on its own merits.

Another decision, not in agreement with the opinion of Judge Hardy in the Yatko case nor with that of Attorney General Webb is that of the County Counsel of Los Angeles County, dated May 13th, 1921. In this opinion, Edward T. Bishop, assistant county counsel, advised L. E. Lampton, County Clerk, as to "classifying the Filipino under the proper one of the four races mentioned in Section 69 of the Civil Code." Mr. Bishop stated that "an examination of seven or eight authorities, encyclopedias, etc., reveals that scientists are not agreed upon the divisions of mankind into races," and concludes:

⁶ Opinion No. 5641, Legal Department, State of California, rendered June 8, 1926, to the Hon. C. C. Kempley, District Attorney of San Diego County, signed by U. S. Webb, Attorney General, by Chas. A. Wetmore, Jr., Deputy.

While there are scientists who would classify the Malaysians as an offshoot of the Mongolian race, nevertheless, ordinarily when speaking of "Mongolians" reference is had to the yellow and not to the brown people and we believe that the legislature in Section 69 did not intend to prohibit the marriage of people of the Malay race with white persons. We are further convinced of the correctness of our conclusion when we regard the history of the situation. In 1880 Section 69 was amended so as to prevent the marriage of a white person with a Negro, mulatto, or Mongolian. It was about this time that there was a Chinese problem in California. The following appears in the case of *Da re Rodriguez* (1807) 81 Fed. 337: "When the case of Ah Yup was decided, the Chinese question was flagrant on the Pacific Slope." The case of Ah Yup was decided in 1878 just two years before this amendment. At that time the question of the marriage of white persons with members of the brown or Malayan races was not a live one, and there was no call for a solution. We do not believe that the members of the Malayan race are "Mongolians" as that word is used in Section 69 of the Civil Code. There is no reason to believe that the Legislature intended in its unscientific language in Section 69 to cover all the races of mankind. . . . We are assuming that the problem under consideration involves a Filipino who belongs to one of the Malay tribes. If, as is not at all impossible, he be a Negrito or in part Chinaman, another question is presented and another answer given.

The practice of the Los Angeles County Clerk up to 1930 in issuing marriage licenses to Filipinos was based upon the opinion of the County Counsel given above. On March 30th, 1930, however, a decision was made by Judge J. A. Smith in the Superior Court⁷ prohibiting the county clerk from issuing a marriage license to Tony V. Moreno, a Filipino, and Ruby F. Robinson, a white person. Since this decision⁸ no licenses have been issued in Los Angeles County for the marriage of Filipinos and white persons

⁷ *Stella F. Robinson vs. L. E. Lampton*, County Clerk of Los Angeles County, No. 2496504, Petition for writ of Prohibition, Superior Court of Los Angeles County.

⁸ It is reported that before this decision was made Mr. Moreno and Miss Robinson were married in Tia Juana.

but there has been no restriction as to the issuing of licenses to Filipinos and non-whites.

The next suit known to have been filed in Los Angeles County was that of Gavino C. Visco,⁹ who petitioned that he be granted a license to marry Ruth M. Salas. On June 3, 1931, Judge Walter Guerin rendered judgment ordering the County Clerk to issue such license. The decision was based on the ground that Miss Salas was a Mexican Indian and the law of California did not prohibit marriages of Indians to Filipinos. It is reported, however, that the judge stated he would have decided in favor of Mr. Visco had Miss Salas been a white person. In advance of this decision circulars were distributed among Filipinos, as follows:

FILIPINO HOME CLUB

113 South Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, California

Dear Countrymen:

GAVINO C. VISCO, a Filipino, has filed his application to lawfully marry one RUTH SALAS, a Mexican Indian girl. His license was refused by the County Clerk, L. E. Lampton, on the ground that the girl was arbitrarily ruled as a white girl and the Filipino was arbitrarily ruled as Mongolian.

The writ of MANDAMUS PROCEEDING started by GAVINO C. VISCO to show that FILIPINOS are NOT Mongolians.

The case is now pending before the Honorable Marshall F. McCombs of the Superior Court of Los Angeles, and is set for hearing at 10 a.m. on the 6th day of May, 1931.

We have leading Filipinos in Los Angeles behind the movement to have a judicial status of Filipinos in California.

We have employed two outstanding attorneys, Mr. George B. Bush and Mrs. Gladys T. Root. Both of these attorneys are reputed in the legal circles as the best available.

⁹ Gavino C. Visco vs. Los Angeles County, State of California, L. E. Lampton et al, No. 319408, Petition for Order of Alternative Mandamus, Superior Court of Los Angeles County.

The importance of this matter merits a very intensive study of the facts and law and in its proper presentation to the Court it will necessitate the use of expert testimony.

The facts in this case offer an opportunity to have a decision which will have a far reaching effect involving marriage relationship, immigration and all other questions where that of race is a discriminating factor.

The fundamental issue involved in this case is, that Filipinos are not Mongolians.

Are you willing to stand and defend your right UNDER GOD-GIVEN PRINCIPLE OF MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS? Or shall we allow ourselves to be restrained by laws motivated by unjust discrimination, in defiance of the laws of God and reason?

NOW, FILIPINOS, DO YOU WANT TO BE CALLED MONGOLIAN? IF YOUR ANSWER IS "NO" SUPPORT THE FIGHT OF GAVINO C. VISCO BY SUBSCRIBING TO HIS LEGAL FUND LIBERALLY.

REMEMBER THIS DOES NOT ONLY AFFECT GAVINO C. VISCO, BUT AFFECTS EVERY FILIPINO IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

FORWARD YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT ONCE TO THE FILIPINO HOME CLUB AT 113 S. LOS ANGELES STREET, Los Angeles, California.

FILIPINO HOME CLUB

Antonio C. Fagel, Secretary

Another decision as to the legality of Filipino-White marriages was made by Judge Myron Westover, also of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, on Sept. 4, 1931.¹⁰ Estanislao P. Laddaran, a Filipino, sought an annulment of his marriage to Emma F. Laddaran, a white person, and his petition was denied, the court holding that such marriage was not in violation of Section 60 of the California Civil Code. This decision was contrary to those made in the Yatko and Robinson cases, all three decisions being those of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County. An-

¹⁰ Estanislao P. Laddaran vs. Emma P. Laddaran, No. 095459, Petition for Annulment of Marriage, Superior Court of Los Angeles County.

other decision, in agreement with that of Judge Westover in the Laddaran case, was that made by Judge Thomas C. Gould, also of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, in October, 1931,¹¹ when he refused to annul a marriage on the ground that the husband was a Filipino. The account as published in the Los Angeles Times for October 11, 1931, reports:

Judge Gould's opinion declares he is not unmindful of adverse rulings in different departments of the Superior Court, which in one instance, prohibits the County Clerk from issuing a marriage license to a white girl and a Filipino man and in another instance holds that a white woman could not refuse to testify against the man, a Filipino, to whom she had been married.

"To hold this marriage void," Judge Gould said, "it is necessary to hold that, ethnologically, Filipinos are Mongolians, and that the Legislature in adopting Section 60 of the Civil Code had in mind the prohibition of marriages between Filipinos and whites.

"The older classification of races divided the human family into five branches, generally and popularly designated as the white, black, red, brown and yellow races. Under this division the yellow, or Mongolian race, included the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans, while the native Filipinos, with the exception of the few Negroid tribes, belonged to the brown, or Malay race.

"It is true that modern ethnologists, under classifications adopted in the present century and now generally followed by scientific writers, have limited the number of race groups to the white, the black and the yellow. But these writers warn us that there is no fixed line of demarcation, that these classifications are simply loose-fitting generalizations, that the races are still differentiating, and that the race divisions are simply convenient terms as an aid in classification. Some writers of the present day make four instead of three race classifications.

"It can hardly be assumed that the State Legislature in adopting Section 60 of the Civil Code had in mind anything but the popular and accepted classifications of its day. It cannot be said that the legislators of that day anticipated the scientific classification of this.

¹¹ Ilona Murillo vs. Tony Murillo, Jr., No. D97715.

If such be the case, this section prohibits the marriage of whites not only with Chinese, Japanese and Koreans (who are popularly regarded as Mongolians), not only with Filipinos and Malays generally (as is contended in the present case), but it must also be held to prohibit the marriage of whites with Laplanders, Hawaiians, Estonians, Huns, Finns, Turks, Eskimos, American Indians, native Peruvians, native Mexicans and many other peoples, all of whom are included within the present-day scientist's classification of 'Mongolians'."

Another recent court action which is still pending is that of Salvador Roldan vs. Los Angeles County, State of California and L. E. Lampton, County Clerk.¹² In this action the plaintiff, a Filipino, petitioned that the county clerk be ordered to issue a marriage license to himself and Marjorie Rogers, a white person. On October 9th, 1931, the matter came up for hearing before Judge Walter S. Gates and was continued in order that the attorneys for both the plaintiff and defendant have opportunity to submit to the court text book and other authorities on the legal and ethnological points involved.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Since 1925, a little over six years, six court actions involving the question of Filipino intermarriage have been filed in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County. These cases may be taken as representative of similar actions in other counties of the state, although no such cases were reported. The one criminal action, heard in 1925, raised the question of intermarriage as a collateral issue, and there is reasonable ground for doubting the justice of not only the decision on this issue, but the criminal verdict. The five civil actions have all been brought since 1930.

¹² No. 326484, filed August 18, 1931, in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County.

Two of these sought annulment of marriage on the ground that one of the parties was a Filipino and such marriages were in violation of the Civil Code which prohibits marriages of white persons and Mongolians. In both cases the petition was denied. The County Clerk was made the defendant in the other three actions, all of which concerned the issuance of marriage licenses to Filipinos. The first of these was heard in March, 1930, and the decision was used as a precedent thereafter by the County Clerk in issuing marriage licenses to Filipinos and white persons notwithstanding the fact that the writ of prohibition therein granted applied only to that specific case. Moreover, the court really had no issue to decide in this case, the parties concerned having been married in another jurisdiction before the decision was reached. In another case the County Clerk was ordered to issue a marriage license to a Filipino and a Mexican, and the last case is still pending.

In all of these court actions the main issue has been as to whether Filipinos were racially classified as Mongolians, and whether the Legislature intended to include Filipinos when they amended the Civil Code by adding the word "Mongolian." This issue has never been settled. No upper court has passed upon the question; the opinions rendered by the Attorney General and County Counsel are not in agreement; such opinions are not obligatory; and the decisions of courts of equal jurisdiction have not been in accord. However, there seems to be a tendency in the recent decisions of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County to sustain the legality of Filipinos' intermarriages.

If such marriages are not sustained, on the ground that Filipinos are Mongolians, the social consequences will be very serious and far-reaching. Under such a ruling, it would not be the Filipino alone who would be involved; in fact, the number of Filipinos affected is comparatively

small. As Judge Gould pointed out in his decision in the Murillo case (quoted above) if it is held that Filipinos are prohibited from marrying white persons, it must also be held that many other peoples of the same ethnological family, including American Indians, Hawaiians, native Mexicans, native Peruvians, Magyars, Finns, Huns, Esthonians, Turks, Eskimos and Laplanders would likewise be prohibited. Personal and property rights of all these peoples would be disturbed; thousands of marriages performed in the State of California would necessarily be held illegal and the children of such marriages considered illegitimate. And to what purpose! "It is inaccurate and sometimes unjust to judge a person's legal and citizenship status today on an inference regarding who his ancestors were several thousand years ago. There may be more important factors, such as an individual's present culture and his personal worth and achievement."¹³

Race mixture is so universal that it is doubtful if any people can be considered a "pure" race. Attempts therefore to restrict racial intermarriage create situations so complicated that they are beyond legal solution. Furthermore, legislation has never proved effective in preventing race mixture in this country. It would be well, then, in attempting to deal with the very practical problems arising in California from efforts to prevent marriages between Filipinos and white persons, to recognize the futility of this type of social control.

¹³ Emory S. Bogardus, Sociology Department, University of Southern California.

PROGRAM FOR SECOND GENERATION CHINESE*

KIT KING LOUIS

Los Angeles and Canton

THE PROBLEM of the American-born Chinese in America is really a vital problem, for the solving of which a social program is needed. The Americans, the older generation Chinese and the American-born Chinese should cooperate in helping to solve the problem by assisting the American-born Chinese in making wholesome adjustments to American life. The following program is suggested by the writer to challenge the people to think as well as give some hints of a possible solution.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE GIVEN BY THE AMERICANS

1. The American-born Chinese should be given opportunity to participate in the extra-curricular activities of the schools and to enjoy the school social life as do the other American students. The American-born Chinese students are in a peculiar situation in the American educational institutions. This group, despite the fact that they are quite thoroughly Americanized, are not treated as Americans by their schoolmates. They have been given equal opportunities in classroom instruction and in receiving knowledge, but are barred by their schoolmates from participation in group activities, which according to the modern educators is a very important phase in the educational program, especially in connection with moral education. Thus, this group received their knowledge only through the formal

* EDITORIAL NOTE: This paper follows naturally the article in *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February, 1932, entitled "Problems of Second Generation Chinese," by the same author.

education of the classroom instruction. They have no part in the exchange of ideas with their American schoolmates outside the classroom. Since modern educators, like Dewey,¹ regard informal education as of equal importance with the formal education for developing socialized personality,² the educational opportunity of the American-born Chinese is not equal to that of the other citizens unless they may participate in the school extra-curricular activities and can enjoy the school social life as do the other American students. To be more specific, the different organizations in the school should accept them as active members if they want to join, and should give them the right to hold office if they are qualified. The teachers should encourage this group to join that organization in which they have a special interest.

2. Occupational opportunities in the American community should be open to the American-born Chinese as to the other American citizens on the basis of qualification and merit regardless of color of skin and physical features. The American-born Chinese are really in a perplexing situation as far as occupational opportunities are concerned. The American educational institutions awaken their ambition by telling them that they have the same opportunity to rise as other American citizens. They are even given equal opportunity in preparation for different professions or occupations. But the door of occupational opportunity seems closed to them on account of their physical characteristics. They have no chance to apply the knowledge which they have learned in the American educational institutions. They cannot attain the social and economic status in the American community which they desire. Dis-

¹ J. Dewey, *Interest and Effort in Education* (Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1913).

² Socialized personality is that of a person who sees the welfare of the group as his own welfare and identifies himself with his group.

appointments sometimes may be "stepping stones" for some persons who have courage and ability, but frequently they result in a sense of defeat or an inferiority complex. America, which legally acknowledges them as American citizens, and makes Americans of them by compulsory education, should also open occupational opportunities to them as to other American citizens.

3. The American-born Chinese should be given a better opportunity in social life in general in the American community, particularly with regard to recreation and place of residence. The restrictions and discriminations against them are making them feel isolated and uncomfortable. They are being forced to stay together as a group separated from the American community. They cannot feel at home in the community under these conditions. Assimilation cannot be expected. If America wants to make Americans of this group, and wants them to improve their living conditions or to live as Americans, it must realize that American education alone is not sufficient. They cannot become American citizens through formal education alone when they are restricted in their access to many phases of life in America. They should be under the influence of good examples set by the Americans. American education may give them the abstract idea of good living conditions, but personal contact with Americans will show them how. Thus, the American-born Chinese whom America has intended to make Americans should be given opportunity to live among the Americans as well as the opportunity to attend American educational institutions.

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE AMERICAN-BORN CHINESE

The conflict between individuals or between groups is usually due to misunderstanding or lack of sympathy. As

mentioned above, the majority of Americans do not distinguish the American-born Chinese from their elders, and are not aware of the problem which exists. Since the average American regards this group as unassimilable aliens, they are frequently treated as were their parents, who have suffered racial prejudice in this country as the result of the anti-Chinese agitation at the time of the first exclusion act.

On the other hand, the American-born Chinese who have felt that the Americans do not give them opportunities have failed to present their problems to the community. They feel that they are not understood by their Western friends, but they do not try to make their friends see their situation. The social distance between these two groups is naturally great. Efforts should be made to bring about a better understanding between them. On the part of the Americans, those who have close contacts with this group and appreciate the situation should educate the general public by presenting the facts, and at the same time assist this group to make wholesome personal and social adjustments to American life. This may be achieved by the means of lectures, formal or informal discussions, and social gatherings which bring the two groups into a face-to-face relation. The American-born Chinese should be permitted to participate in the organizations and in the discussions, and to enjoy social life. In return, the American-born Chinese should make their problems known among the Americans by inviting the latter to their social affairs as well as the meetings of their organizations.

A better understanding cannot be brought about between these two groups unless there are agencies to bring them together in close contacts and as a consequence they will be helped to appreciate each other's situation. In addition to the public schools, organizations such as the Chinese American Citizens' Alliance, the American and Chinese

Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the American and Chinese churches, the Chinese Students' Club in the university, and some Americanization societies may serve as agencies to bring about a better understanding between the two groups.

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE OLDER GENERATION
CHINESE AND THE AMERICAN-BORN CHINESE

The conflict between the older generation Chinese and the American-born Chinese is due to the differences in culture. The older generation Chinese who brought the oriental social heritage with them fail to realize the fact that their children have acquired another type of culture and live in a different social environment. On the other hand, the American-born Chinese who acquire the occidental social heritage in the American school frequently incline to regard their parents' ideals and customs as old-fashioned and do not appreciate the latter's point of view. The social distance between these two groups, if not greater, is as great as that between the Americans and the American-born Chinese. They see each other's shortcomings instead of appreciating each other's virtues. An adjustment and accommodation should be made to bring about a more harmonious relationship between them. The older generation Chinese should regard the American ideals and customs with tolerance. They should try to see the children's point of view as well as their own, in case there is conflict between them. They should guide their children with the definite aim of the children's welfare instead of according to blind traditional standards. On the other hand, the American-born Chinese should likewise appreciate their parents' point of view in case of conflict. While they accept the culture of the occidental they should stop to discover the virtues of their parents' culture. In order to bring about a better understanding between these two genera-

tions, they should be kept more closely in touch with each other. "Father and Son" and "Mother and Daughter" dinners should be given by churches or other organizations. At these dinners a speaker who is aware of the situation may present the problems of the young to the old or give to the young an interpretation of the best of the oriental culture to stimulate their appreciation of it.

LEADERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN-BORN CHINESE

Most significant of all, the American-born Chinese themselves, consciously facing their problems, should work their way through them. Though the older generation Chinese at the present time are successfully handling the situation as is evidenced by the fact that there is a very small amount of juvenile delinquency in this group, yet the American-born Chinese are swinging between the two types of culture. While they incline more and more to disregard the oriental heritage, they are still not accommodating themselves to the new order on account of their physical characteristics, and attitudes of the average American toward them. This situation may easily lead to demoralization of the young who are eager to follow the patterns set by the Americans but obtain inadequate ideas on account of limited contact. Sometimes they rebel against their parents' control and throw off the restraining and directing influences of home before they have learned self-control or have been able to make wholesome adjustments to the new order. Thus, leadership is greatly needed to work out a set of standards and code of conduct for this group as well as to lead their fellowmen to accommodate themselves to the situation.

The leaders of this group should be men and women who have studied both the oriental and occidental cultures, who understand the situation and the problems facing this

group, and who have a socialized personality.³ They should have foresight, be world minded, of high ideals, and of intellectual ability and attainments. They should be men and women to whom this unadjusted group may come for guidance and comfort. They should give the American-born Chinese a glimpse of the "soul of China," of the unique and exquisite art, and of the fine qualities of the Chinese people, such as their social spirit, their loyalty, their high sense of morals, and their tolerance. They should help the young people to have respect for the older people, and for men of intellect and fine character of every race and nationality. They also should make the American-born Chinese see the America that lies behind the front page of the newspaper, and the America of Washington, of Lincoln, of Roosevelt; the real America with its spirit of liberty, of pioneering, and of justice to all.

In other words the leaders of this group should be able to distinguish the best elements of both cultures. They should help to develop personalities in whom the best qualities of the Chinese people go hand in hand with the best qualities of the American people, so that the American-born Chinese shall make of themselves a people of whom both China and America will be proud. The leaders of this group should also acknowledge the fact that the distinctive backgrounds of the American-born Chinese give them the advantage in ability to interpret both the oriental and occidental cultures which are now meeting across the Pacific basin.

The American-born Chinese culturally are the children of the occident, understanding the occident as their own; but still racially or physically they are the children of the orient. Though many of them are ignorant of the orient, with proper effort they could appreciate more of the orient

³ See p. 1.

than could full occidentals. This, then, may be regarded as the mission of the American-born Chinese—to interpret the East to the West, and to contribute to America the knowledge accruing from a proper interpretation of both. Through the accomplishment of their mission, the synthesis of the cultures of orient and occident could take place in the future naturally and without undue conflict. For this aspect the leaders of this group should stir up the interest of the American-born Chinese to study oriental culture, especially Chinese history, Chinese social institutions, and the present problems of China. This may be achieved by working through some of the organizations, encouraging each to make available books on China so selected as to interest the young people. Groups should be formed in the organizations to study China at least once a month through lectures and group discussions. The leaders should promote meetings devoted to discussions and debates of the special problems of the American-born Chinese. They should have oratorical and essay contests in English and in Chinese to consider the same problems.

The problem of the American-born Chinese evidently should be solved by the American-born Chinese themselves through the efforts of their own leaders. If the American-born Chinese will prove to America that they have developed a personality of which both America and China may be proud, and that they have contributed to the world by interpreting the East to the West and the West to the East, the social distance between them and the Americans, and between the younger and older generation Chinese will be bridged, and consequently the door of equal opportunity to achieve higher social and economic status will be gradually opened to them, on the basis of merit.

GENETIC SOCIOLOGY: A PRELIMINARY NOTE

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IN SOCIOLOGY, as in psychology, increasing attention is being directed toward the child and his problems. In early life social behavior is relatively simple and elemental in its nature and is, consequently, more suitable for scientific study. Moreover, when corrective measures are needed, they are usually efficacious in proportion to the youth of the persons under treatment. This interest in the social behavior of children has, however, been centered chiefly in child guidance clinics and similar institutions, where the importance of the sociologist's approach to the problems of personality is now being recognized.¹

Classroom work dealing with the sociology of childhood has, however, been almost non-existent, even though formal courses in the psychology of childhood and in genetic psychology have become quite numerous. As an experiment in meeting this deficiency, the writer has offered at Clemson College during the summer sessions of 1930 and 1931 a course entitled Genetic Sociology, the purpose of which has been to study the social behavior of the child in somewhat the same way that genetic psychology treats of his mental development.

In the presentation of this course the data for class use were necessarily sought from a variety of sources. As a basic text Blanchard's *The Child and Society* was found acceptable. Besides valuable articles selected from period-

¹ Louis Wirth, "Clinical Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII, 49-66; and E. W. Burgess, "The Cultural Approach to the Study of Personality," *Mental Hygiene*, XIV, 307-25.

icals, the most helpful collateral readings were secured from Adler's *Understanding Human Nature*, Bagby's *Psychology of Personality*, Gesell's *Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child*, Healy and Bronner's *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, Morgan's *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*, Murphy and Murphy's *Experimental Social Psychology*, Thom's *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*, Thomas and Thomas' *The Child in America*, and Watson's *Behaviorism*. Upon its face, this list seems more suitable for a course in psychology than for one in sociology; but, in reality, use was made principally of material which the psychologists have of late been gathering far within the nominal territory of the sociologists.

The central theme of this course was the socialization of the child and the youth—its importance, its difficulties, situations assisting or retarding sociological development, and some typical failures in social adjustment. The work was carried on by means of a textbook, lectures and discussions, collateral readings, and reports of problem cases observed by members of the class.

Many of these cases of defective social adjustment were found to be concerned with persons of arrested social development, exhibiting infantilisms in behavior that might be considered normal for one of lesser years. This observation then led to attempts to establish tentative norms for the social behavior of children of various ages. This concept of social or developmental age proved to be of especial value in understanding "problem children." It is a possibility, of course, that social age may in the future be as measurable, even if as indefinable, as mental age is today.²

² C. M. Case, "Social Imbecility and Social Age," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII, 218-42; and P. H. Furfey, *The Measurement of Developmental Age* (Washington: Catholic Education Press, 1928).

This emphasis upon norms of social development did not, however, lead to neglect of the significant individual differences arising from variations in the strength of inherited tendencies and environmental pressures. In particular, attention was directed to the divergent *mores* and traditions of each family and community and to the distinctive *status* or prestige goals striven for by every person, regardless of age or position.

The genetic approach was also found useful in assisting in a resolution of the conflict between the cultural and the psychological schools of sociology.³ From this point of view the two schools appear to be supplementary, differing chiefly in emphasis. The advocates of the cultural approach stress the significance of "the mode of life" into which the child is born and to which it must become habituated, while the psychological or behavioristic school is concerned with the conduct of the individual and his responses to the stimulation of the other members of his group. From the genetic approach, accordingly, there is little or no conflict, since both the culture patterns of the group and the behavior patterns of the individual must be studied in order to secure an adequate understanding of any specific problem of conduct.

This course, as described above, was first offered in the hope of providing for a group of teachers and parents a type of sociology that would assist them in securing a greater understanding of the social behavior of the children in their care. If similar courses are undertaken elsewhere and meet with favorable response, genetic or child sociology may become a well recognized field for sociological study and investigation.

³ M. M. Willey, "The Validity of the Culture Concept," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXV, 204-19; and F. H. Allport, "The Group Fallacy in Relation to Social Science," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XIX, 60-73.

TUSKEGEE AND BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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THE CRYPTIC remark by Ralph Waldo Emerson that an institution is the lengthening shadow of a great man is borne out at Tuskegee.¹ In this case the great man was Booker T. Washington. From the time that you arrive on the campus and behold the sculptured masterpiece of Booker T. Washington to the hour that you leave amid the well wishes of hopeful, tolerant representatives of a dynamic institution and people, you feel the spirit of the founder at work.

The sculptured tribute to Washington commands your attention because of its accurate symbolism. There he stands, the benefactor of the less fortunate members of his race—kindly, progressive, humble. His hand is outstretched not so much in blessing a representative of his race as in arousing the latter to the possibilities of self-realization. Beneath are the words: "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry." In a hallowed spot nearby rest the remains of the indomitable leader whose soul still goes marching on. The piece of statuary is worth coming miles to see. It needs to be viewed unhurried. It constitutes a racial shrine, in fact, one of the most significant human shrines to be found anywhere. It honors not destruction, not war, not greed, but construction, peace, and service.

Close by is Dorothy Hall, the essence of hospitality to visitors. Pleasant guest rooms, a drawing room where

¹ Tuskegee Industrial and Normal Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington.

you meet other guests, a dining room, everything for your convenience. Not luxury but simplicity, not form but homelikeness, not commercial but free. Come when you will and stay as long as you will, your welcome does not wear out and there are no charges in this house of hospitality. The idea of E. Davidson Washington, son of a hospitable father, the guest accommodations spread the spirit of good will.

The first fellow guest whom I met at Dorothy Hall was the representative of a piano manufacturing plant, who had been there a month in installing pianos, and who had seen Tuskegee in its everyday clothes and as an insider. In response to the question: "What has impressed you most about this place as you have daily gone about your work?" he promptly replied: "Most of all I have been impressed by the way in which everything is kept picked up all the time. There is no litter about, no unclean spots. Everything is kept up in wonderful shape." At once the words of Booker T. Washington took on life. It seemed as though the founder himself were speaking, and that the words of a man had truly lived after him, for referring to his boyhood training in the home of strict Mrs. Viola Ruffner had he not said:

"Even to this day I never see bits of paper scattered around a house or in the street that I do not want to pick them up at once. I do not see a filthy yard that I do not want to clean it, a paling off a fence that I do not want to put it on, an unpainted or unwhitewashed house that I do not want to paint or whitewash it, or a button off one's clothes, or a grease spot on them or on the floor that I do not want to call attention to it."²

As one travels from one to another of the 135 buildings on the campus, a composite picture of the students, faculty,

² *Up from Slavery* (A. L. Burt and Company, New York, 1900), p. 44.

administrative staff soon develops. It is not a race photograph but a human likeness. It is a stereotype of earnestness, not of trifling; of work, not of loafing. Seriousness of purpose is everywhere evident. Everyone seems to know where he is going and to have chosen a worth while goal. Again, the injunction is heard anew in the daily mien of campus life: "I consider there is no permanent success possible without hard and severe work, coupled with the highest and most praiseworthy aims."³

The typical facial expression carries another message—it is that of determination. Youth is at work with persistence written over its face. One does not look far in any direction without finding youth swallowed up in maturity. A personal sense of responsibility that reaches at times to an unyielding grimness is present. The spirit of the founder still speaks at Tuskegee: "Success is to be measured not by the position to which one has *come* but by the obstacles he has *overcome*."⁴

Poise and confidence are in the air. Shouting and blustering are out of order. Neither is time wasted in very many of the superficialities of life. Campus is not synonymous with rubbish either material or spiritual. Students do not go to Tuskegee because "it is the thing to do" or because "others are going" or as "a comfortable place in which to waste four years of life," but as a training center of creative life. Tuskegee aims to give that poise which enables a person "to expect the best, but to be prepared for the worst." It trains for personality control such as Washington emphasized:

"When I begin my work in the morning I expect to have a successful and pleasant day of it, but at the same time I

³ Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (J. L. Nichols and Company, Chicago, 1900), p. 422.

⁴ Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p. 39 (italics are added by the present writer).

prepare myself to hear that one of our school buildings is on fire or has burned, or that some disagreeable accident has occurred or that some one has abused me in a public address."⁵

A call on Director R. R. Moton makes clear that Booker T. Washington has had a worthy successor. Dr. Moton has conserved the best of the founder's policies and at the same time has been responsive to new needs. When asked what had occurred at Tuskegee of most significance in recent years, he quickly responded: "The development of our four year college course. This is significant because it represents a rise in the cultural level of the Negro people." While the vanguard of the Negroes several years ago needed an industrial training the vanguard today is seeking a college training. The fact that this request has come from the Negroes themselves and that Tuskegee under Dr. Moton has responded are doubly significant facts. Among other things it means that Negroes under the Tuskegee tutelage are going to be intellectual leaders as well as industrial workers, that the percentage of teachers and other professional leaders will increase, that the Tuskegee college graduate is going to be less "right wing" than formerly. As the radical "left wing" Negro of the South acquires more experience and responsibility, he will doubtless grow less "left wing." While right wing and left wing remain distinctive and perhaps wisely so, there are indications that they will pull together in the future more than in the past, and that instead of working against each other they will present a more united front than in the past.

What the Negro Thinks by Director Moton⁶ is a sign of a new day. The author has retained all of his customary kindness of spirit and gentle sincerity and yet has spoken out plainly "in meeting." He has revealed to a dominant

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁶ Published by Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1929.

race what the long-suffering and earnestly quiet members of his own race are thinking. He has performed this delicate task in a way to arouse no destructive antagonism. He has planted a dynamic leaven. Girded about with the armor of love, he has told the white race exactly how the tolerant, appreciative Negro is dissatisfied with his present status.

Sociology is on a firm footing at Tuskegee. Courses are being given that are not only labelled sociology but that contain the essence of the latest and best sociological thought. They are up to date and scientific and put to shame some institutions of higher learning in the United States that do not yet understand the nature of sociology and hence are ignoring it. A basic course, a course in rural sociology, three courses dealing with the Negro—this is a well-chosen and promising set-up.⁷

A half-day in the Research Department of Tuskegee is all too short. Dr. Monroe N. Work and his able assistants are building for the future. They are scrutinizing the present with eagle eyes as far as anything is concerned that relates to race problems. First, come the newspapers of both colored and white races. With fine discrimination a high-grade clipping bureau is maintained, a system of organizing and classifying these clippings keeps everything up to date and at the finger tips. Second, come journals and magazines that cannot be clipped but whose pertinent articles are abstracted and kept on file for ready use. Third, come the books on the Negro and race problems. What a mine of vital information and research data concerning all phases of the race question is available for the sociology and other social science students at Tuskegee.⁸

⁷ An insight into the sociological program at Tuskegee was given the writer through the courtesy of Mr. R. N. Davis of the faculty.

⁸ The reader is familiar with some of the results of the research work at Tuskegee. If not, see the *Negro Year Book*, an annual encyclopedia of the Negro, 1931-1932, by Monroe N. Work, editor, published at Tuskegee Institute, or *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America*. (H. W. Wilson Company, New York.)

Another vital point that came home to the writer while at Tuskegee was the wide gap between the mores in the South and the longings of the Negro. While much is being done for the Negro through the Inter-racial Commission and many other efforts, the mores of the South are still heavily against the Negro. That the mores change with "infinite slowness" is evident.

The South still remembers the low cultural level of the Negro in the past. It still sees a great gulf fixed between the races. The rise of the Negro in recent years and the increasingly outspoken demands of some Negroes has increased the social distance.

On the other hand, Tuskegee's influence is thrown on the scientific side. Tuskegee recognizes that there are reasons for the racial mores in the South, that the mores of a deep-seated nature anywhere require decades in order to be changed, and that open attack upon certain mores gives them deeper fixation, and renews their vigor and prolongs their life indefinitely. Under Tuskegee⁹ the Negro culture is moving upward and the adverse mores are breaking down little by little. Infinite pains and infinite patience are the watchwords at Tuskegee. The last words that I heard as I left Tuskegee came in answer to my question: "How can you be so patient and forbearing when the mores in the South are so much against you?" The answer was a quotation from Booker T. Washington to the effect that no matter how he might be insulted or downtrodden, he would "never stoop so low as to hate anybody."

By these tokens: "He lifted the veil of ignorance from his people and pointed the way to progress through education and industry."

⁹ As at other schools and colleges for the Negro.

Book Notes

THE MASQUERADE OF MONOPOLY. By FRANK ALBERT FETTER. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1931, pp. vii+464.

Professor Fetter has written a most charmingly dramatic prologue for his new book on the life and adventures of a shifty gentleman criminal called Monopoly. The character under the author's skillful guidance proves to be a most engaging crook with many aliases and gifted, alas, with a penchant for assuming many ingenious disguises. Alas, for as Professor Fetter's penetrating humor discloses: "Buyers, like Titania on midsummer's night fondling the ass's head, have sworn upon the witness stand and before our high courts they saw only economic beauty there."

Lively-writing Professor Fetter swiftly moves his arch adventurer through several scenes of action, scenes provided with cinema-like views of oil wells, steel mills and markets, and courts of justice. The Supreme Court and its magnificent gestures toward the wily Machiavellian fellow comes in for sharp criticism, the author contending that if it had used well its endowed power to interpret the Sherman Act in 1890, it might have ended the villainous depredations long since. But then, there would have been no third act! This artful dodger is still at work and the "public pays the florist," seemingly enjoying the task.

Interesting, indeed, is the review of the changing methods of monopoly; once it was extermination of enemies, now, it is cooperation with bouquets for cooperators. Monopoly no longer tries to "look and act" like a pirate, but rather like a Sunday-school superintendent. The poor public in the guise of the innocent but dumb heroine really pays more for this show of apparent peace, since by means of the velvety paw of monopoly, it has been led to believe "that in this 'new era' monopoly and not competition is the life of trade." Furthermore, the author holds that private property and individual enterprise may be at stake and that "political equality before the law cannot long survive the destruction of its economic counterpart, equal freedom in free markets." It's all entertainingly serious! M.J.V.

PERSONALITY IN ITS TEENS. By W. RYLAND BOORMAN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. 268.

This book is based upon an investigation financed by the Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago. The data were secured through more than one thousand letters received from twenty boys who had been selected from three hundred correspondents. Mr. Boorman says, "Primarily this study is a presentation of the psycho-social mechanisms of twenty boys and applies to the hundreds of thousands in the general high school group only to the extent that these boys may be true representatives of that big army. . . . The foremost merit of this method is the fact that it does get at the point of view of the boy. It uncovers what he is thinking with all of its accompaniments of personal bias, inaccuracies, and immaturity."

The boys represent three groups, those who are leaders, those whose place in the group is a minor or inferior one, and those whose role varies in different activities and groups. The first part introduces the boys. The next three sections deal with the boy and his home, his companions and social groups, his girl friends, significant life situations such as athletics and vocational choice, and life principles, morals, ideals, religion and philosophy.

Extracts from letters are presented and comments made to indicate significant aspects. The material provides valuable cues for handling problems of boys both on the part of the club leader and the case worker. The presentation of the boys' own reactions at the time or soon after the experience took place furnishes the leads for discovering interests on the level of which certain details of a program of character, education, and personality development may be developed.

B. A. McC.

SOCIAL WORK. By EDWARD T. DEVINE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xvi+352.

This is the third printing of a book first published in 1922. The author's high standing, particularly in certain fields of social work, has given the book a wide hearing.

SOCIETAL EVOLUTION. By ALBERT G. KELLER. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929, pp. xi+338.

That the fundamental thesis of this volume has stood the test of criticism is evidenced by the fact that a second printing has been called for after an interim of fourteen years.

RECENT TRENDS IN AMERICAN HOUSING. By EDITH E. WOOD. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. ix +317.

The author, one of the leading housing authorities in the United States, and well informed on housing advances in Western Europe, begins with post-war housing in the United States, and proceeds to describe war housing conditions. Attention is given to rent restriction upon which an adverse judgment is pronounced because it checks residential building and thus increases housing shortage. Moreover, says the author: "It represents the most radical interference with the rights of private property of any housing measure adopted outside of Soviet Russia, and it probably has the least permanent value." Tax exemption is discussed as a form of subsidy that must accompany rent restriction. The author's objections to rent limitations have point only when such limitations are put in operation by themselves. They doubtless represent a serious attack upon the capitalistic system. The growth of zoning and regional planning is described and favored.

The housing problem is caused "by the wide discrepancy between the cost of a new building conforming to modern standards and the purchasing or renting power determined by the income of about two thirds of the population." Is it important therefore to lessen the cost of a home without lowering the wage income of the workers? Can it be done without modifying the economic system? Cooperative housing is prescribed without passing judgment. Eliminating commercial profit is also described but not strongly favored or opposed. The volume is factual and is replete with data ready for further analysis.

E. S. B.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH TAXATION? By JACKSON H. RALSTON. Ingram Institute, San Diego, California, 1932, pp. 199.

The author advocates that improvements, personal property, and business be relieved from all taxation, and that no State and local tax be collected save upon land values. He contends that by this plan the value of land for use will not decrease, but that present purely speculative values of land will tend to vanish. Real poverty will be greatly lessened but not abolished entirely. A lower cost of living, a reduced collection of taxes, more regular employment of both labor and capital will follow, he believes.

E. S. B.

NORWEGIAN MIGRATION TO AMERICA: 1825-1860. By THEODORE C. BLEGEN. The Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota, 1931, pp. xvii+413.

Organized Norwegian emigration to America began in 1825, and the author follows the movement up to Civil War times. The social, economic, political, and religious backgrounds in Norway are examined for influences on migration. Thus it is shown that religious dissention by Quakers is as important as the economic motive to some of the earlier groups who left for America. The problems of overpopulation, land shortage, poverty, depression, emphasize America as the land of opportunity in contrast to a rather hopeless Norway. Land-hunger stands out as one of the principal drives. Another characteristic of the movement is the emigration of entire families rather than of individuals, which indicates the stability and ambition of home-builders. Psychological influences of "America letters" and other publicity are well presented, and of similar value are the emigrant songs and poems. In the latter we find an aspect of Norse migration which is relatively unknown. The author shows how important was the personal leadership of Cleng Peerson and several others in establishing the early Norwegian "communities" in the United States, for the tendency was to colonize. The fact that the Norwegians were consistently against slavery influenced their choice of land for settlements. The book is rich in statistical information, maps, etc., and in general this monograph has been written in a very pleasing style.

J. E. N.

COME WITH ME TO INDIA. By PATRICIA KENDALL. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931, pp. x+465.

The author presents historical backgrounds and writes in a jaunty style. She essays the role of a travel guide and lectures as she goes along, revealing the historical elements in the many contradictions and conflicts in India. She turns against Gandhi on the ground that he centers his faith "in his own self-righteousness," his opportunism, his appeal to mystic beliefs, "his phantasmagoric politics," his desire to return his people "to a primitive and archaic estate."

Mrs. Kendall believes that India needs evolution, not revolution. East Indians need first of all to build up "their physical and mental stamina," to raise their eight per cent of literacy to a much higher level, to develop "the constructive capacity and the stalwart strength to maintain a national government in peace as well as in prosperity."

E. S. B.

ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR. By Members of Department of Economics, Washington Square College, New York University. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1931, 2 Vols.

In this two-volume work, the authors have presented a searching and thoroughgoing analysis of economic behavior as conditioned by the institutional approach, which, for them, signifies that "economic conduct is chiefly a matter of habitual rather than rationally self-interested behavior." Departing somewhat from the Sumner conception of *institution* they define the concept as "any widespread and complex mode of habitual behavior and thought." Amounting then, to what might be termed their own philosophic approach, the authors pursue a concrete method of examination for the purpose of discovering what economic behavior really is. And this has resulted in the production of a book, which at times, is powerfully swaying in its presentation of the old facts in regard to the action in the market-place, and which is also productive of much that is new. For one thing, this method will introduce, most successfully, the novice to a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of why men act the way they do in an acquisitive society. Group habits are noted as possessing great welding influences upon the individual actions of men; they possess the power of indicating most positively what the economic interests should be and how they should be played; and finally, they succeed in firmly moulding the behavior patterns into a more or less homogeneous pattern of conduct. Thus the uniformity of the machine is enhanced by the uniformity which characterizes the actions of men.

Concluding the study, the question is asked, Where is our machine economy carrying us? What are we accumulating for? The reply is somewhat unsatisfactory since it embodies the idea that we are accumulating merely for the sake of accumulation. While this may be partly true, yet on the other hand, much of this fund has been utilized for creating additional industry, and much has been utilized for war. It is this last method of distribution which is essentially the tragedy of the machine age, and which is more disastrous than the policy of mere accumulation. The two volumes are finely contributory to a wiser and more useful knowledge of the group-habits which the economic world has acquired.

M. J. V.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CITY LIFE. By NILES CARPENTER. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1931, pp. xiv+502.

Urban sociology is not as highly developed as the sociology of rural life and there is a great need for books of a general nature as well as those dealing with specific studies. The volume by Dr. Carpenter is one of the most recent contributions in this field. The first two hundred pages are devoted to a consideration of the beginnings of city life and the emergence of urbanism, the location and physical setting of cities, the control of urban growth, and an analysis of the urban population. The major portion of the book is devoted to "the urban way of life" and "the debit side of city life." These sections contain more sociological material than either the earlier chapters or the later ones which deal with the economic aspects and the urban prospect and outlook. The impact of the city not only affects the personality of the inhabitant, but his home, his work, his recreation and worship are likewise subjected to urban influences. Poverty, crime, organized vice, mental deficiency, and disease are typical problems which have been accentuated in cities.

Not all of the material can be regarded as strictly sociological, unless sociology is interpreted in a broad sense as a synthetic science. The author covers a wide range of topics and draws upon historical, geographical, economic, political, and psychological materials. The volume gives the reader a comprehensive picture of city life and can profitably be used as a textbook for a general course in urban sociology. Bibliographical notes are appended to each chapter and suggestions for discussions and projects are found in the appendix.

M. H. N.

COMMUNICABLE DISEASE CONTROL. By White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Committee on Communicable Disease. GEORGE H. BIGELOW, *M.D.*, Chairman.

This book is one of many reports to be issued under the auspices of the recent White House Conference. It covers the latest statistics on infant and child mortality and of the prevalence among children of certain diseases. It also includes a considerable study of the trends in recent years of the morbidity rate from the various communicable diseases. The second half of the book is filled with the "procedures recommended for the control of individual diseases." An appendix cites some important accomplishments in the control of contagion.

G. B. M.

INTERVIEWS, INTERVIEWERS, AND INTERVIEWING IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. Pamphlet containing articles reprinted from *The Family*. Published by the Family Welfare Association of America, New York, 1931, pp. 132.

In these articles are discussed in detail, methods of the interview as a step in social treatment, in "the art of helping people." Psychological factors to be considered, ways of changing attitudes, of releasing a client's powers, of winning confidence, of persuading without coercing—are presented by practicing social workers. In addition are presented three "group analyses of the interview" as reported from three local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers, those of New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis. The document is highly usable for discussions by social workers in the field and by students in the class room.

B. A. McC.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF LEARNING: 1904-1929. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. 380.

Following an introduction by Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, who deserves credit as editor, there are seventeen lectures by pre-eminent professors, deans, or heads of schools at Columbia University. These lectures were given as a weekly series in celebration of Columbia's 175th anniversary of its founding. The various topics have been selected for breadth of interest in several of the social sciences, jurisprudence, the classics, art, biology and medicine, chemistry, physics, engineering, geology. Each writer outlines with bold strokes the changes and development in the respective discipline during the last quarter-century. Of special appeal to students of sociology is the article by Dr. Robert M. MacIver, wherein he appraises the various schools of sociology in their national settings. Primarily, he stresses and contrasts the German and American leadership in sociology. To mention other disciplines, Carlton J. H. Hayes writes on History, Wesley C. Mitchell on Economics, Howard Lee McBain on Government, Robert S. Woodworth on Psychology, etc.

There is evident interrelation between the various disciplines, a unity for the university as a whole, although specialization influences uniquely the sciences or disciplines. The degree to which university staffs have become American in training and tradition is worthy of note. This book is an excellent testimonial to Columbia University's service as an educational institution.

J. E. N.

MY FIGHT FOR BIRTH CONTROL. By MARGARET SANGER. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. 360.

Intensely human is this energetic and fearlessly written account of a woman's battle with the mores of her times. As a sociological document, it is not only a unique social case history, but it is also the story of the origin and development of a great social movement. As the tale is unfolded by Mrs. Sanger, the reader is at once made aware that here, too, is a fine social psychologic account of the inception, growth, and conditioning of attitudes.

The life story of Margaret Sanger reveals the vicissitudes of the pioneer and discloses those intimate experiences which caused her to become the champion of a cause. Pathetic is the narrative of the case of Mrs. Sacks, a case which was to show the author her future path. Mrs. Sacks had asked for birth control information, and it was seemingly impossible to convey it wisely. When her fourth child came unwanted, and life was forfeited, Mrs. Sanger, after an all-night struggle with her emotions, resolved that her life work should henceforth be devoted to the cause of thousands of other Mrs. Sacks. This was in 1912. Since that time, with unflagging zeal, she has fought her way over the most colossal of obstacles barring the way, that of influencing public opinion to countenance rational discussion of birth control. Her fight has led her to the great libraries and clinics of Europe, to sympathetic contacts with such great liberal minds as those of Dr. Alice Vickery and Havelock Ellis, and to police courts and prisons. Now that the struggles have lessened somewhat, the world takes a different view of Margaret Sanger. Due to her conflict, the discussion of birth control may now be conducted on a rational basis, at least, no charges of obscenity are hurled against it. In the appendix of the book is listed over a half hundred clinics in the United States where contraceptive advice may be extended within the law. Both the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the New York Academy of Medicine have now seen fit to endorse the movement. Thus the way has been cleared for Mrs. Sanger's final tasks, that of securing favorable Federal legislation, and that of outlining a program "to stimulate research through the Clinical Research Bureau, directing it toward the perfecting of contraceptive technique, urging scientists and specialists to focus their attention upon this problem and to set up bureaus for the purpose of testing their achievements." The story is well told, and it is well that it has been told.

M. J. V.

THE FAMILY IN THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER. By RUTH LINDQUIST. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1931, pp. xiii+241.

The point of view is that of home economics. The data have been gathered from a study of 306 families; alumnae members of two national professional fraternities in the field of home economics have contributed the materials. Normal families rather than abnormal ones have been studied. Sources of fatigue, worry, and friction in these 306 families are found in (1) caring for children, (2) laundering, (3) care of house, (4) finances, (5) clothing, and (6) foods. Important factors in achieving successful family life are (1) health, (2) income, (3) parents' philosophies of life, (4) managerial ability of the homemakers, (5) physical plant, (6) housekeeping skills of the wife and mother, and so on. Educational needs of these families are given as (1) child training knowledge, (2) psychology courses, (3) household management, (4) nutrition knowledge, (5) philosophy and literature, (6) household skills, (7) economics, (8) art, (9) sociology, and so forth. More sociology is desired by approximately one in five women. Other topics considered are: college training for family life, the place of the community in promoting successful family life, and scientific study of the family. The book lays the groundwork for penetrating case studies and accompanying analyses.

E. S. B.

THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1931-32. By MONROE N. WORK (ed.). Negro Year Book Publishing Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, pp. xiv+544.

The new Negro Year Book represents a great advance over previous year books. It is crammed with facts covering the widest variety of topics relating to the Negro. The arrangement of subject matter is excellent, the material on a particular topic being concentrated in one section.

The book is divided into eight sections or parts as follows: The first four divisions deal respectively with the Negro in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Africa; then follow the Negro in Poetry and the Arts, Literature on the Negro, Directory of Newspapers, Agencies and Organizations, and Statistics showing Racial Distribution of Mankind. The part dealing with the United States is, of course, the most extensive, but a considerable amount of space is devoted to the Negro in Africa.

G. B. M.

PHONOPHOTOGRAPHY IN FOLK MUSIC. AMERICAN NEGRO SONGS IN NEW NOTATION. By MILTON METFESSEL. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1928, pp. x+181.

In this book there is presented a new form of musical notation, which makes it possible to record the peculiarities of singing. In the research laboratory, methods have been devised for the measurement of factors in the sound wave—for instance, timbre, rhythm, consonance, and volume. Curious turns, twists, and quavers of the voice, and exceptional points of emphasis or intonation for which conventional notation does not serve, are featured in the system devised. The numerous illustrations are from Negro songs only. The sociologist will be interested in the extraordinary use of symbols to convey ideas, by the emotional significance of the various kinds of Negro songs, and by the ingenuity of research along this line. The introductory part is by Dr. Carl E. Seashore, who has been recognized as a pioneer in psychological studies of this sort. J. E. N.

SOZIOLOGIE, GESCHICHTE UND HAUPTPROBLEME. By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. (Second, enlarged edition.) Walter de Gruyter and Company, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931, pp. 138.

This little volume is a brief summary of the history of sociology by one of the leading writers and research workers of present-day Germany. It reviews briefly but judiciously the movements in Germany, France, England, and America. A final chapter is devoted to the exposition of the theory of social relationships and social organization from the behavioristic point of view which the author represents. This volume is one of the first sociological books suitable for textbook use to appear in Germany. English and Japanese editions of the first edition are available. E. F. Y.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. By WALTER A. COTTON. Sheldon Press, London, 1931, pp. 158.

The author who has lived for twenty years in South Africa discusses the relative merits of segregation in South Africa and of intermarriage and race fusion. He favors the former and advocates that a halt be called on European migration into Africa. If segregation does not occur then an Asiatic caste system will result. Economic opportunity and freedom from social segregation, or the Booker T. Washington plan, is favored.

THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES. By DELLA GOODE FANCLER and CLAUDE C. CRAWFORD. C. C. Crawford, Los Angeles, 1931, pp. 376.

The Teaching of the Social Sciences undoubtedly will be welcomed by the teachers of social sciences for several reasons. First, it admirably presents the origin, development, and relative values of the social studies movement in secondary schools, thus affording the teacher a proper orientation in her chosen field. Second, the aims and objectives of the various social sciences have been gathered from numerous authentic sources, and a meritorious symposium has resulted. Third, the particularly important problems, most likely to confront the social science teacher, have been organized logically and discussed effectively in a manner designed to clarify the difficult situations usually encountered in the matter of course content and curriculum organization. Fourth, the various strengths and weaknesses of the instructional techniques are simply and clearly revealed. A vigorous chapter on the testing and measuring of the results of teaching will in all probability prove to be most vital for the efficient teacher, since it contains a number of choice and carefully selected tests, already proven as to their utilitarianism. It is a book, designed for the teacher, and as such, it deserves unqualified success, for its aims have been finely realized by the authors.

M. J. V.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS. By ALLEN EATON AND SHELBY M. HARRISON. Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, pp. xlviii+467.

In this book we find listed all the social surveys that the authors have been able to discover. There are four parts—general social surveys, surveys in specialized fields, publications on purpose, method, and standards in surveys, and geographical index. Under “specialized fields” 176 titles are listed and thousands of surveys. The items included in the bibliography take a form as indicated in the following sample: “Missouri, St. Louis. The Housing Problem in St. Louis. By—City Plan Commission. Publisher—the same, St. Louis. 1920. 50 pp. Free.”

The geographical index is also a tremendous time-saver. In it are listed all of the surveys made in a given state or city under the caption of that state or city. The student will find this bibliography a mine of information and a most valuable help in respect to any subject he may desire to study.

G. B. M.

SOCIOLOGIA PRIMITIVA CHILEINDIANA. By AUGUSTIN VENTURINO. Editorial Cervantes, Barcelona, 1927, pp. 367.

The author of this work has contributed a scholarly analysis of the sociological factors in the primitive society of the Indians of Chile. The social data are described with numerous appropriate comparisons with other primitive cultural groups such as the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas.

The contents of some of the chapters include descriptions of the physical factors, the flora and fauna, the absence of metals, the tribal community, the primitive industry, the commerce, the art among the southern tribes, the religion and the beginning of the authority of the priest, the justice, the education, the exact sciences, the social classes, the government, and the language among the primitive Indians of Chile.

Señor Venturino has shown graphically that the Chile Indian is sociologically and psychologically the product of his formidable environment and states that "man is not worth anything, either as a race or an influence, until he begins to wrestle with and master Step-Mother Nature." Further he adds: "The social value of the Chile Indian is not in what he was, but in what he accomplished as a social product." The indigenous workman, who gave form and life to whatever he touched with his rude and generous hands "lived in a tribal society which could not exist without distribution of labor. . . . That work was a holy institution because man was living by his own effort—without extorting and constraining his fellow-creatures."

The psychological reactions of the primitive Chile Indians against the Spanish invaders have been sympathetically interpreted thus: "It was not the human conglomeration that was important in the culmination of a primitive society. . . . What was important was the psychological attitude, that species of collective conscience which integrated the sentiments, thoughts, and actions which were demonstrated in deeds—and mustered by all the intensity of which Chile India was capable." The powerful social forces within the tribal society of Chile India evolved into that larger concept of nationality which is known now as simply Chile.

This volume has a wealth of material that will be an addition to the sociological data concerning the Amerinds of the Americas.

C. L.

AN ETHNIC SURVEY OF WOONSOCKET, RHODE ISLAND.

By BESSIE BLOOM WESSEL. The University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xxi+290.

Mrs. Wessel has done a tremendous amount of work and presented in great detail the facts concerning races in Woonsocket. The volume contains 93 tables, seven figures, and one map. Nearly everything that can be discovered by the objective statistical approach has been done.

The study begins with the school population and moves on to the derivation of grandparents, derivation of families, and of children. Part II on intermarriage among parents is the most important in the book. Sample findings are that "9.6 per cent of all first-generation parents have married out of their group, 20.9 per cent of second generation parents, and 40.4 per cent of those who belong to the third generation and third-second generations; 17.8 per cent of all parents have intermarried." "The percentage of intermarriage in each nationality among the foreign born is: British, 32.4; Irish, 21.8; French Canadians, 7.8; Slavs, 7.2; Italians, 7.1; Jews, 1.8; as compared with the general average of 12.1." "Intermarriage proceeds rapidly as cultural similarity is established through migration and contact." In Part II the author advances two worthy indexes of racial influence. One is "The ratio of children to stock in the same population" and the other, "the ratio of children in the present population to the ethnic contribution in the parent stock." Part III on cultural and historical factors is supplemented by two excellent bibliographies found in Appendixes A and B. The reviewer finds only one important element missing in this masterpiece, namely, a study of attitudes, conflicts, and related problems.

E. S. B.

BEITRAEGE ZUR METHODENFRAGE DER WOHLFAHRTS-SCHULEN.

Edited by the Prussian Ministry for Social Welfare. Carl Heymanns Verlag, Berlin, 1931, pp. 58.

Contains six papers presented at the 1930 conference of schools of social work in Prussia. The problems discussed include: Aims, problems, and methods of schools of social welfare, systematic instruction in psychology and pedagogy, and social work in the practical training of students. The general consensus seems to be that the immediate need is to put educational flesh upon the framework constructed by the standards (*Rechtlinien*) which the educational authorities have laid down for the training of professional social workers.

E. F. Y.

THE BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH IMMIGRATION: 1840-1930. By FLORENCE EDITH JANSON. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, pp. xi+517.

Sweden has lost over a million inhabitants by emigration since 1850, which amounts to about one-sixth of her present population. Most of that million have settled in the U. S. A., which has consistently been favored as the goal of the Swedish emigrant. The purpose of the book is to present the economic, social, religious, and political conditions which caused emigration, and the author has done so in a capable and interesting manner. Her descriptions of life and problems of the people living in Sweden, from 1840 on, are graphic, vivid, and unbiased. The scope of the work is indicated by the inclusion of religious unrest as discussed under the chapter title, "The Dissenters of Sweden"; the economic crises of 1864 and 1865, and the serious famine years 1866-1869; the significance of the lumber industry and changing industrial conditions; changes in rural culture, and the urbanization movement; the Swedish experiences with industrial labor organization, and current social reform movements. This is one of the University of Chicago Social Service Monographs, made available by the editorial board of the Social Service Review. It is an excellent piece of work, and deserves high commendation. J.E.N.

THE RIDDLE OF ECONOMICS. By ELISHA E. GARRISON. The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xii+329.

This popular discussion of economics includes chapters on such topics as socialism versus capitalism, unemployment, supply and demand, wages-profits-price, agriculture, tariff, financing and government, politics and the human equation. One detects considerable partisanship and bias in some of the utterances of the writer—a fact which militates greatly against the value of the book. For example, he says, "Actually Capitalism means sound economics and honest public and private principles, . . ." And yet the author has not lived in a vacuum. The four fundamental causes of unemployment do not include the displacement of men by machinery. This omission is to be expected since the chapter on this subject is headed with the quotation, "The poor ye have always with you." In another chapter we find, "There are laws, incontrovertible and inexorable, underlying the economic structure of industrial production and exchange." A much higher level of thought and reasoning is exhibited in the last chapter, in which many worth-while things are said. G. B. M.

ADVENTURES IN GENIUS. By WILL DURANT. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1931, pp. xvii+426.

In this volume of stimulating and brilliant although sometimes sketchy essays, Mr. Durant presents first his list of ten greatest thinkers (from Confucius to Darwin), then ten greatest poets (from Homer to Whitman), and the titles of one hundred "best books for an education" (from Herodotus to Cellini, Wells, and Spengler). The next part indulges in evaluations of Spengler, Keyserling, and Bertrand Russell, with high praise for Spengler. The latter's prophesy of ruin is pronounced "the supreme achievement in the philosophy of our age." Flaubert, Anatole France, and Powys are accorded a chapter each, with a statement being quoted that France ranks third among the world's greatest writers—third to Shakespeare and Goethe. Three problems—of Palestine, of India, and of China, are analyzed in the fourth part. "Most tourists leave their manners at home, to have more room for their prejudices." Another sample thought is: "If we could persuade radicals that change must be gradual to be permanent, and could persuade conservatives that change must be." The concluding part is a miscellany ending with "Twelve Great Dates" in human history and with a chapter on, "Is Modern Education a Failure?" The author is hopeful; "we have seen nothing yet," but will soon.

E. S. B.

LYNCHINGS AND WHAT THEY MEAN. General Findings of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. Published by the Commission, Atlanta, Ga., no date, pp. 76.

Lynching persists in American mores despite the fact that it has been steadily declining for some decades. The present study reviews the situation briefly and considers a considerable number of factors which account for the tenacity of the custom. The commission pays particular attention to the problem of developing adequate government machinery to control the situation based upon sound public opinion which is held to be "the ultimate deterrent." The promotion of anti-lynching campaigns through press, pulpit, and school is urged. The factual data presented are well worth further scientific study. A spot map showing lynchings by counties from 1900 to 1931 is included.

E. F. Y.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION. By GEOFFREY MAY.
William Morrow and Company, 1931, pp. xii+307.

This book consists of three parts as follows: *The Doctrine of Sex Expression*, *The Doctrine in English Law*, and *The Doctrine in Anglo-American Law*. Part I deals with the manifestations of sex expression among the primitive peoples and also among the early Hebrews and the early Christians. The views of the Christian Fathers carried over into the life of early England and were mingled with the attitudes that had developed among the Germanic ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon groups. Gradually the church obtained legal control over sex expression. In the presence of much sexual laxity, it constantly leaned in the direction of repression. The declining control of the papacy hastened the advent of political or governmental control. The clergy and the church, however, have never ceased to deal with the problem.

In the American colonies parts of the Hebraic code were enacted into law, but others were found to be impracticable. The church also was a powerful influence and an instrument of control. These laws have been largely retained but the forms of punishment have changed. The author says that the legal control of sex expression has changed greatly throughout the period of Anglo-American history but that the doctrine of sexual morality has not varied at all. New conditions, however, are bringing about a change in viewpoint.

G. B. M.

THE GROWTH OF AN INSTITUTION: THE CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD. By EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES.
The Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago.
Monograph Number One. Published by the Society, Chicago, 1931, pp. 122.

The Chicago Real Estate Board is here treated as a case which may be expected to throw light on "the processes by which institutions in general seem to grow." The author views institutions as social forms which arise in the never completed problem-solving in which groups with conflicting interests and points of view are perpetually engaged. The data were collected over a period of years of study of the board and its members. The treatment is highly condensed and not very smooth. Students of human ecology and of social processes will find the volume well worth reading. E. F. Y.

THE TRAINING OF SOCIAL WORKERS. By JAMES E. HAGERTY. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, pp. viii+205.

Dr. Hagerty combines many years of experience, excellent judgment and common sense in summarizing the development and present status of training social workers. Social work is defined as serving those "who have failed or are failing in their social adjustments." Scientific methods should be the test applied to social workers. Private schools of social work are giving way to university schools. Graduate schools of social work are to be preferred to undergraduate schools but the time is not ripe for all schools to be of the former type. The training of social work executives has been overlooked in the efforts to train case workers. Likewise, the training of social workers in research methods has been neglected, but graduate schools are now giving attention to it. The case method of teaching social work is difficult but growing, even the case method of teaching social work administration is developing. Methods of case recording are undergoing changes, with increasing attention being given to sociological interpretation. Difficult problems arise in connection with field-work training, which needs to be dovetailed in with case-work teaching. This interesting discussion is concluded with the statement that social work is not yet a profession but a craft based on practice and some schooling. It is an art based on science. E. S. B.

SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION. By ELLWOOD STREET. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1931, pp. xx+467.

This is the first systematic comprehensive treatment of administrative problems to appear in the field of social work. The material is largely that gathered in the course of a long period of experience in executive work, chiefly in community chest work. It is, therefore, colored to some extent by that special point of view. There is an all too brief chapter on the philosophy of social work administration in which the author pleads for genuine participation on the part of staff, board, and executive in developing administrative policy and method. For the most part, the author is concerned with the mechanics of management as related to equipment, personnel, office methods, committee work, reports, financing, publicity and inter-agency relation. The volume is organized for the use of students and will be a welcome addition to the textbooks available for schools of social welfare. E.F.Y.

MARRIAGE AND THE CIVIC RIGHTS OF WOMEN. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. The University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xii+158.

This little book deals largely with the problem of separate domicile and of independent citizenship of women. In the first chapter a number of citations are made showing that serious hardship has resulted from the failure to recognize a separate domicile for the wife, although the practical situation made such a position grossly unfair.

There is also included a brief discussion of the Cable Act which gave woman independent citizenship, and of the amendments made to the act in 1930. These amendments further protect the independence of women. Subsequent chapters relate the experiences of a selected number of women who tried to become citizens. Some of the women succeeded while others failed. Few of the failures, however, were due to any of the discriminations remaining in the original Cable Act. A study of fifty-one men who took out citizenship papers shows that the men encouraged their wives to become citizens and in certain cases extended positive aid. The general conclusion is expressed that, on the whole, wives desire to become citizens and that the chief obstacle is the fear that the tests applied are too difficult.

G. B. M.

PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES. By EUGENE KAHN. Translated from the German by H. Flanders Dunbar. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931, pp. xii+521.

This volume is a translation of the author's contribution to the *Handbuch der Geisteskrankheiten* edited by Oswald Bumke. The point of view is that of clinical psychiatry throughout. Personalities are classified and studied in terms of impulse life, temperament, character, and physique. A number of case-histories illustrating both simple and complex types of psychopathic personalities are given. These histories are entirely too brief to permit the reader to make independent analyses or to evaluate critically the analysis of the author. The treatment of the material is almost wholly didactic though it takes into account the points of view of other psychiatrists. Social factors are vividly described in many cases but the analysis is wholly in terms of mental processes. There is a selected bibliography chiefly of German materials.

E. F. Y.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

WOULD A BOYCOTT of Japanese goods sold in the United States or in European countries bring about a condition of peace or of war? Mr. H. N. Brailsford, a British contributor to the *New Republic*, says boycott might cause war, but a war by the world powers to end the Sino-Japanese struggle would hardly merit the name of war because it would be a conflict involving not legal but moral aspects—the whole civilized world using constraint for the general good. In criticism, however, the editors of the *New Republic* say that war by any name is War, and would probably be inevitable if a boycott were resorted to; also, that “war cannot be ended by war in 1932 any more than it could be so ended in 1914.” The pros and cons regarding boycott seem to run in a vicious circle. If a nation has no respect for the Kellogg Pact, the Nine Power Treaty, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, as is the situation for Japan in Manchuria and China, how can the members of the League stop warlike acts unless they put into effect the treaty provisions for boycott or even for war against the aggressor state? Else the articles of the Covenant which so provide are empty of meaning. Nations both in and outside the League need to outgrow the provincialism which thrives on imperialistic exchange of advantages at the expense of other countries; they all need to become respectful of international legal sanctions. Perhaps some of the major powers are loath to set a precedent of boycott, especially if they have imperialistic ambitions or policies of their own. Such views as the above are easy to take, as long as the struggle is between two nations, one of them commonly regarded as the aggressor. But what if the present Sino-Japanese situation were simply the forerunner of a tripartite war for the control of Manchuria, which has succeeded the Balkans as the threat against not only Asiatic, but World peace. This, however, does not explain Japan’s invasion of China. One cannot say whether it was a decoy to sidetrack interest while setting up the Henry Pu-Yi government in Manchuria, or an effort to break down the Chi-

nese boycott, or whether the Japanese overrated their powers to encroach upon China. In any case, a new estimate of Chinese prowess is being realized, and any third party to the struggle for Manchuria will doubtless learn the same lesson.

THE HENRY PU-YI government in Manchuria is not receiving recognition by other nations. Although there is presumably a dictator-president with unlimited power in Manchuria, Pu-Yi is of course a puppet under Japanese orders; therefore Mussolini, Pilsudski, and Stalin are not in favor of the new government, and it appears more expedient for these dictators to respect the integrity of Manchuria as a part of China. Great Britain has also denied recognition. Within Manchuria itself, it could scarcely be expected that a population so largely Chinese would remain satisfied with the present makeshift government, dominated as it is by Japan. Reports indicate that uprisings and revolt will occur in various sections of Manchuria, so that not only will Pu-Yi's regime be endangered, but the Japanese army which supports him will be harassed and kept busy.

THE SOVIET will inaugurate its second Five-Year Plan in 1933. It cannot be determined fully how successful has been the first plan, yet it is known that in some respects there are deficiencies, even in most basic industries like coal, metals, and transportation. Definitely, however, groundwork for Socialism has been laid; and capitalism having been uprooted in the villages, and classes having been abolished, the Second Plan can map out changes considerably beyond the ambitions of the first. Thus machinery is to reach three and one-half times the present output. Electric energy is to increase from the output of 17,000,000 k.w.h. in 1932 to 100,000,000 k.w.h. in 1937. Coal production is to be nearly trebled, oil production is to be increased by two and one-half to three times, and similarly the facilities for transportation, as well as for general productivity, are to be multiplied. All of this indicates the remarkable material progress under way in Russia. Thus the Soviet plans to carry on war against Capitalism, claiming that the venture to date assures the success of Socialism. The Soviet regime is now concentrating on improvement of the lighter industries directly producing consumption goods, clothing, housing, etc., and the Russian people are boldly promised a higher standard of living, doubtless necessary to encourage their

hopefulness and loyal cooperation. How it will be possible to double or treble the amount of consumption goods, that is, increase the standard of living by such a degree, remains to be seen. The first Five-Year Plan was conducted only with extreme sacrifices on the part of the people; a still more ambitious program is to be faced now; can it possibly be achieved by a fraction of the sacrifice characteristic of the last three years? Not only does Russia lack capital, but the want of skilled labor and management apparently cripples the most ambitious enterprises, such as the Soviet automobile plant at Nizhni-Novgorod. Agricultural and live-stock production suffers from the same cause. Nor are conditions to boast about when the Soviet government finds it necessary to exclude visitors who want work in Russia. The Soviet no longer brags about its demand for labor.

THE HARE BILL, which would give the Filipinos independence in about ten years, passed the House, 306 to 47. All dissenting votes were Republican. It is doubtful whether this bill will pass the Senate, which has its own Hawes-Cutting bill which would provide for Philippine independence in about seventeen years. According to the Hare bill, a Philippine constitutional convention would be summoned in due course, but the nature of the constitution is defined in the bill. Some provisions are mandatory, so that military and strategic areas would be retained for the United States. The Constitution would perforce be submitted for the approval not only of the Filipino people, but also of the President of the United States. There are certain limitations of Filipino immigration into the United States during the period of transition, as well as limitations on Philippine exports to the United States, but no limits are fixed for the free entry of American products to the Philippines. Eight years after the formation and establishment of the Philippine government, American sovereignty would be withdrawn. Such is the Hare bill; and thus would come freedom for the Filipinos, if the Senate so approves. However, withdrawal from American responsibilities in the Orient may be a dangerous business during these days of unrest, especially if the Islands were to fall under the domination of other foreign powers, and in this connection Secretary Stimson markedly refers to China and Japan. Japan's gesture is that of being willing to pledge Philippine liberty; Japan has plenty of liabilities without adding the Philippines. Stimson's hope that Philippine independence will be delayed yet another thirty years is of interest because of

the significance of the Archipelago in the inevitable westward expansion of trade and commerce.

WHAT A BOON international commerce would be to stimulate production and distribution, but the leading nations are still heading pell-mell for further restrictions. Americans are objecting to France's quota system, which is shunting trade away from the United States in favor of neighboring European states; but if any nation has been the classic champion for protective tariffs, it is the United States, so any discrimination has been well earned. Sooner or later it will be discovered (it is hoped) that Mercantilistic policies which were antiquated and fallacious when hatched back in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, are still more ridiculous in the twentieth century; but as long as our over-praised industrial leaders preach and practice false economy, the country will suffer from misguided wisdom. So up with the barriers to international trade, although the barbs surely cut in both directions.

Leaving aside political prejudice, would not a yearly \$500,000,000 market for fabricated goods in Russia stimulate and aid the industries of the United States? Modernization and industrialization of Russia should improve the standard of living there and ought to increase the markets both for imports and exports. Russia needs longer term credits than are usual, also capital which would have to be provided by the more developed countries. Such has been the situation in South America for some years: getting business there was a matter of competition in credits and in service. It is regrettable that American business men cannot also deal with Russia in competitive credits and service, in order to secure business now being placed with England, France, Germany, et cetera.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

THE LOS ANGELES JUVENILE RESEARCH COUNCIL. The primary purpose of this Council is to serve as an organization of agencies dealing with child welfare in the city of Los Angeles and environs, to secure accurate information concerning juvenile problems, to disseminate this information through monthly meetings and mimeographed and printed reports, and to coordinate the activities of the member agencies for the purpose of promoting better conditions for children. It is composed of representatives of the Department of Playground and Recreation, Board of Education, Council of Social Agencies, Library Department, Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department, Juvenile Court and Juvenile Hall, County Probation Department, County Probation Committee, the Sheriff's Office, California Bureau of Juvenile Research, Research Department of the Chamber of Commerce, Public Safety Division of the Automobile Club of Southern California, and the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California. The Council is a member of The Academy of Child Welfare of Southern California.

Since its inception nearly two years ago, it has served as a clearing house of information on child problems from the various agencies and has issued consolidated reports of findings and requests. The agencies dealing with juvenile delinquency have issued periodic statements for the special benefit of character building agencies with a view of securing cooperative effort in the solution of such problems. A map has been made showing the distribution of the major types of character building centers. Committees have also been appointed to make special studies.

A study of radio car calls concerning juveniles for the month of September, 1931, was made by Mr. T. S. McKibbin, under the direction of Dr. M. H. Neumeyer and in cooperation with Inspector Hawtry of the Police Department and Mr. John Henderson of the Playground Department. The City of Los Angeles is divided into seventy-six radio car districts. During the month of September, out of a total of nearly 12,000 calls made, 291 complaints concerning juveniles were phoned in and investigated. Of these, 208 originated between 3:30 P.M. and 11:30 P.M., 64 between 7:30 A.M. and 3:30 P.M.,

and only 9 between 11:30 P.M. and 7:30 A.M. The greatest number of calls occurred between 4:00 and 5:00 P.M., with 5:00 to 6:00 P.M. second highest and with 8:00 to 9:00 P.M. third highest. There was a considerable difference in disturbances by districts, ranging from 1 to 10. Nearly all of the high delinquency areas have either no or few play centers. An analysis of the cases by types proved no or few play centers. Comparatively few arrests were made. The usual police procedure is to warn the boys to disperse. While most of these cases were not very serious, the calls came from regions which have caused difficulties for some time as reported by officials of the Juvenile Court, Probation Department, school and recreation agencies.

A STUDY OF THE recreational opportunities, habits, and attitudes of 1040 children (575 boys and 465 girls) committed to Juvenile Hall was made by Mr. Walter Buchanan, using questionnaires to obtain the data, which were later tabulated and analyzed by Dr. E. F. Young. Although additional information is needed and the results checked by comparison with a control group to make the study more useful, yet some of the findings thus far obtained prove interesting. More than one-half of the juveniles studied had yards at home, but few of these are equipped for play. While 83.5 per cent reported playgrounds at school, only 48.8 per cent used them, but some used other playgrounds. The chief reasons for not using playgrounds were: preferred to be at home or objected to playgrounds, playgrounds closed or too far away, parents objected, or must work. Home duties and studies were listed by many; 74 per cent reported that they were gainfully employed, earning on the average \$4.66 per week; and others listed a variety of activities. A large number attended movies one or more times a week, 32 attended every day, but 93 claimed that they seldom or never attended. Nearly three-fourths attended church, but less than a third belonged to church clubs and fewer still belonged to other clubs. Active games were preferred by both boys and girls. Many played with boy or girl friends, brothers and sisters, less than a third played with parents, and 11.6 per cent stated that they had "nobody" to play with.

THE INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS in Los Angeles, which is directed by Dr. Paul Popenoe, was established in 1930, after two years of preliminary work. It renders a family consultation service, aiding many clients directly and referring others to sources of information and service. The first 1,000 cases may be classified as follows:

educational, 35 per cent; family maladjustment, 25 per cent; child welfare, 9 per cent; pre-marital, 7 per cent; sex problems, 7 per cent; and the remaining 17 per cent pertained to heredity, legal, and various miscellaneous problems. The largest group, one-third of the whole have no particular personal problem, but want material for educational purposes. Three-fifths of the clients are women. While many factors enter into the family problems, the experience of the Institute reveals that the failure to make biological adjustments (sexual maladjustment), friction over finances and recreation represent the three most frequent sources of difficulty. Sex education, training in budgeting and the effective use of leisure are the chief needs of the clients.

While the Institute is not primarily a research organization, several investigations have been undertaken. A study of 300 apartment houses revealed that 52 per cent would not take married couples with even one child, although 20 per cent of them did not object to dogs.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON STUDIES. Howard B. Woolston is conducting studies of *population and propaganda*. A statistical study of the relation of population, average length of life, and wealth in the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, and Australia, between 1850 and 1922, has been made for the International Congress on Population of Rome. Another study pertains to propaganda in Soviet Russia. Materials gathered in the Soviet is being interpreted with a view of showing the character and purpose of propaganda to gain compliance by a huge ignorant population.

Norman S. Hayner is continuing his studies of hotels and tourists, and of *delinquency areas* in the leading cities of Washington. Automobile tourist camps, as well as new types of hotels, have developed in response to the increase of automobile touring. A study in the Puget Sound Region and in Southern California shows that there are eight times as many children among auto campers as among hotel dwellers. When the family travels the established routine is broken and habitual forms of behavior tend to be modified.

JESSE F. STEINER is completing his study in *recent trends in recreation and leisure time activities*, which project is a part of the investigation carried on by the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. It is intended to cover the entire field of recreation with special emphasis upon the changes that have taken place during the past twenty years.

Social Drama Notes

1931—. A play in fourteen scenes and ten interludes. By CLAIRE and PAUL SIFTON. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1931, pp. ix+172.

Claire and Paul Sifton have taken the present crucial situation of unemployment for the general theme of their new play, 1931—. The stark reality of the inner substance of the unemployment problem is vividly presented by portraying an individual case, and showing the individual at the moment when he is engulfed by the rapidly swelling tide of disaster. The play is an indictment of all those forces responsible for the economic dilemma, and becomes, in the hands of the playwrights, a swiftly moving narrative of the case-history of a personality disintegrating as a result of the play of these environmental forces. The tragedy is a cruel one, necessarily, and, perhaps, unfortunately, will not succeed in attracting the many who do not care to be made to reflect upon their crass selfishness which is in large part responsible for the tragedy. The cold and bitter heartlessness of a society which has permitted itself to embrace this sort of social situation is skillfully sketched by means of the ten interludes, each of which presents an ever-accelerated movement of the helplessness of the masses, culminating in a finale of wild and bloody rebellion. The ten scenes photograph the blasting of the lives of Adam, the husky trucker, and his girl.

At the beginning, Adam, good-humored and vigorous, incurs the displeasure of his foreman; rather than swallow the insults heaped upon him, he chucks the job. He is sure of himself, sure of the market for his muscular energy and his will-to-work. But as he goes from door to door in search of a new job, he finds that he has been caught in the swiftly-flowing downward current of unemployment with thousands of others. Adam, at the end, is a totality of human depravity and degradation, his once human heart turned to ashes, and the man become the beast. Throughout the incidents of the play, the attendant sufferings of those out-of-a-job are focused momentarily on the scene—groups of men looking over the want-ads of the papers, long lines of men looking for work at factory gates, the groups of desperate and hungry in the bread-lines, and the pan-handlers—all are there. Frankly propagandistic, the play nevertheless is an achievement in the dramatic, since the authors have caught the inner significance of a human tragedy with swift and sure vitality.

M. J. V.

Social Photoplay Notes

G. D. N.

The Wet Parade. Upton Sinclair takes up the gauntlet for the cause of Prohibition. Not the most artistically done, not the most popular picture of the season, but by far the most powerful. There is too much deliberately preached propaganda, and a too frequent resorting to old fashioned melodrama at the sacrifice of much that should have been left to imagination, to make it a work of art. It is built about a controversial theme, one that strikes too many chords of deep feeling. From a box office standpoint it is antagonizing and therefore unsafe.

In the first place, no endeavor has been made to present equally both sides of the question. The wets resent the poor light in which their cause is shown, claiming that only the less rosy aspect is considered; the dries resent a prohibition enforcement organization depicted as ineffective as the proverbial gentleman who tried to sweep back the sea with a broom, as well as numerous thirst provoking scenes of banquet tables well set with glasses, ably stocked saloons, and easily accessible speakeasies. The antagonistic atmosphere the picture creates in the audience is revealed by the cheering and jeering that frequently breaks forth during the showing of the picture.

The power of the picture is found in its scope, and in the gamut of emotions it runs. Literally, the picture is a review of the liquor question in the United States, with its demoralizing aspect highlighted. Two of the most interesting sets of scenes are those showing the tremendous odds against which the enforcement agents are working and the large scale business methods adopted by the organized bootleg rings in manufacturing and distributing their product. Nothing is lacking in this picture: thrilling gangster scenes, the exciting prohibition raids, the humorous side of the saloon, the tender moments of lovers, the quick tempo of night club life—all make their respective bows. From the reviewer's standpoint the chief criticism, as before intimated, lies in the frequent pauses for preaching, as when model young man who never touches liquor, in a lengthy speech at the climax of a melodramatic episode, vows to devote his life to fighting "this thing." This type of thing makes one squirm in one's seat to say the least. Indirect suggestion is so much more effective, and so less likely to antagonize—why could not it have been utilized in *The Wet Parade*?